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MEMOIRS

OF THE

DUKE OF ROVIGO.

VOL. II.

3605.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

DUKE OF ROVIGO,

(M. SAVARY,)

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF:

ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE

HISTORY OF THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON.

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VOL. II.

PARTS I. AND II.

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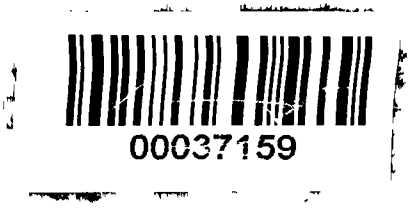

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MEMOIRS

OF

THE DUKE OF ROVIGO.

PART I.

CHAPTER I.

Austria threatens to resume hostilities—Precautions taken against her—Administrative measures—Regulations for the internal government of Prussia—The Emperor echelons his troops on the Vistula—Pretensions of England—Continental blockade.

WHILE we were completing the dispersion of the forces opposed to us, the Emperor was employed in fixing his position. To reach the Russians, we directed our march along the frontier of Bohemia; but, in consequence of this movement, Austria took occasion to affect alarm for her neutrality; and, as if we had not enough to do with the winter and the Muscovites, she pretended to suspect that our passage across the defiles of the mountains might lead to an attack on her territory. The Emperor was not to be deceived by this pretext. What had happened with respect to Bavaria had taught him the degree of reliance which was to be placed on the faith of cabinets. He called out a new conscription, ordered the recruits it supplied to assemble immediately on

the Rhine, and took into his service the troops of the Elector of Hesse which had just been disbanded. He sent part of the Hessians to France, and part to Holland and Naples; thus removing them from the places where there was a risk of their being prevailed on to mutiny against us. He did not, however, confine himself to these measures only: he garrisoned the fortresses; occupied the passes which cover Italy; and he assembled considerable forces at Verona, Brescia, and on the Izonso. The King of Bavaria also assembled a force on the Inn. Thus we were soon prepared at all points.

Another object, not less important, was to bring the resources of the conquered countries into active operation. The Emperor took measures for this purpose with that superiority of view which distinguished him. He gave a new political form to the vast possessions which the fortune of arms had placed within his power. He divided Prussia into four departments; of which Berlin, Custrin, Stettin, and Magdeburg, were made the chief towns. He fixed the limits of each department; retaining all their former subdivisions, and all the institutions which were calculated to facilitate the management of public business. He did not displace any body; he allowed every public officer and magistrate to proceed as usual in the discharge of his duties, and merely required that he should not turn against him that portion of authority which was left in his hands.* An administrator-general of the Prussian finances and domains, and a receiver-general of the taxes, were appointed to superintend the operation of this vast machine, and to adopt such measures as circumstances might require. Each department

* The following are the terms of the oath :—I promise to exercise faithfully the authority which is confided to me by his Majesty the Emperor of the French and the King of Italy, always to employ it for the maintenance of public order and tranquillity, to concur with all my power in the execution of the measures ordered to be adopted for the service of the French army, and to carry on no correspondence with the enemy.

had an imperial commissioner, who was present at the deliberations of the boards for affairs of war and the domains; and each province had its intendant, who discharged the duties of a prefect. Special receivers were appointed to take cognizance of the receipts, and verify the disbursements.

The violent passions and commotions which agitated Prussia required measures of repression to prevent plunder and vindictive acts. For this purpose brigades of gendarmerie, recruited among the land-owners, were distributed over the country; their force and stations being determined by the governor-general. The commandants of particular districts had besides pickets of French troops at their disposal.

To Berlin, as a centrical point of operation, particular attention was paid. The Emperor made the magistracy be appointed by election. Two thousand burgesses assembled, and chose sixty magistrates. They also formed a national-guard of 1600 men for the police of the town.

The regular collection of the revenue, which was soon extended over Hesse, Hanover, the duchy of Brunswick, Mecklenburg, and the Hans towns, prevented waste, secured abundant returns, and supplied the wants of the army without harassing the people.

While the Emperor was employed in adjusting the government of Prussia, deputies arrived from the palatinate of Posen to present an address from their fellow-citizens, praying that he would proclaim the independence of their country. He received them in the most cordial manner, but refused to make the declaration they solicited.—"France," said he, "never recognised the different partitions of Poland: nevertheless, I cannot proclaim your independence, unless you be determined to defend your rights with arms in your hands, and by all sorts of sacrifices, even of life. You are reproached with having in your constant civil dissensions lost sight of the true interests of your country. Instructed by

misfortune, be now united, and prove to the world that one spirit animates the whole Polish nation."

I have quoted this answer, because it shows how unjust were the reproaches cast on the Emperor for not proclaiming the independence of Poland at the commencement of the campaign of 1812. Independence is a power in itself: nothing can prevent its recognition if it exist; but to proclaim it when it does not exist, is to form for the sake of a foreign interest an engagement, the consequences of which cannot be foreseen. The Emperor repeated in 1812 what he had said in 1807; and could not, without compromising France, do more than he did.

I return to the affairs of Prussia. Earnestly as an armistice was solicited by Frederick-William, the Emperor did not place much confidence in the sincerity of his declarations. But he aimed less at Prussia than at England; and he was aware that the government of the latter power, though always ready to instigate to war, cared very little for the misfortunes of its allies. He took his measures accordingly. He disposed his troops in such a way as to be able to take immediate possession of the places he required to be surrendered, or to march against the enemy, in the event of the armistice not being ratified. His plans having this double view, none of his orders were precise, except the instructions which he directed to be transmitted to the Grand-duke of Berg.

"The Emperor," says the major-general in his dispatch to that prince, "orders me to inform you that he has received dispatches from Marshal Davout, dated Sampolno, the 20th, at two in the morning. It results from these dispatches that the Russians arrived on the 13th at Warsaw, and that on the 18th they had pushed an advanced-guard of infantry and cavalry along the banks of the Bsura, that is to say, to the distance of more than ten leagues from Warsaw, on Jochazew and Lowicz." In the orders which I transmitted to ——

on the 18th, I directed him, in case he should not have entered Thorn, to proceed along the left bank of the Vistula, inclining his march towards the right. Marshal Augereau received orders to follow the movements of Marshal Lannes, keeping at the distance of one day's march in his rear. Meanwhile, the armistice was negotiated. Marshal Duroc, who was sent to the King of Prussia's head-quarters, arrived on the 20th at Graudentz; and in case the King of Prussia should have ratified the suspension of arms, the Emperor had determined that Marshal Lannes should occupy Thorn, Marshal Augereau, Graudentz and Dantzic, and Marshal Davout, Warsaw; but in this new state of things his Majesty is of opinion that Marshal Davout's force will not be sufficient to occupy Warsaw even during the period of the armistice. It is therefore the Emperor's intention that you should repair to Warsaw, and occupy it with General Milhaud's brigade of cavalry, which has been reinforced by the 1st regiment of hussars; with the brigade of General Lasalle, which left Berlin this day; with Klein's, Beaumont's, and Nansouty's divisions, which joined Marshal Davout some days ago; and finally, with the whole corps of Marshal Davout and Lannes, which will make more than 50,000 men. If the suspension of arms be ratified, the light cavalry will leave the river Bug, and the remainder of the cavalry must be cantoned at the distance of some days' march from Warsaw, so as that they may be easily subsisted; and these troops should extend themselves farther in proportion as the Russians retire, and the stipulations of the armistice are executed. The corps of Marshal Augereau should occupy Thorn, Graudentz, and Dantzic, having its main body at Thorn. Such are the dispositions made with a view to the armistice.

"If, on the contrary supposition, the suspension of arms be not ratified by the King of Prussia, Marshal Augereau will maintain his brigade of cavalry on the extreme left, near

Graudentz, lining the Vistula; and he will defile with all his infantry, following the rear of Marshal Lannes at the distance of one day's march, to the left bank of the Vistula, by Bresec and Koweld: so that if it should appear that the enemy is inclined to risk a battle before evacuating Warsaw, Marshal Augereau may be able to join you without his cavalry, which should remain detached along the Vistula to observe the left. In case the enemy should pass the Vistula at Warsaw, you will take care that Marshal Augereau's corps shall always be far enough up the river to defend the passage between Warsaw and Thorn, and to maintain the junction of the army-corps which will be assembled at Posen with that at Warsaw. You will receive this on the 24th; you will then expedite the annexed orders to Marshals Lannes and Augereau, and will yourself proceed to Samplono, so that you may arrive at Warsaw on the 30th of the month with your reserve cavalry, and with the corps of Marshals Davout and Lannes, if the suspension of arms be ratified; and you will leave the corps of Marshal Augereau at Thorn to occupy Graudentz and Dantzic; and if the suspension of arms be not ratified, you will arrive at Warsaw with your reserve of cavalry, and Marshals Davout, Lannes and Augereau's corps, and you will have 80,000 men in the field of battle.

"On the 24th of this month the head of Marshal Ney's corps will arrive at Posen, where his army-corps will be assembled on the 26th, only 12,000 strong, in consequence of the corps he has been obliged to leave behind him for garrisoning Magdeburg and escorting prisoners.

"On the 25th, the whole of Marshal Soult's army-corps will be concentrated at Frankfort on the Oder. Finally, Prince Jerome has received orders to depart on the 24th from the blockade of Glogau with the Bavarian corps, between 14 and 15,000 strong, and will be on the 28th at Kalitsch.

"I have ordered General Becker's division of dragoons which is with Marshal Lannes to join you at Sampolno; the

25th dragoons, which left Berlin to-day, is ordered to join Becker's division."

The Emperor, as may be seen, had echeloned his troops with admirable foresight. He had every thing ready; whether the war should be suspended or continued, he was equally prepared. But his measures only reached England by starts; and that power he wished to touch to the quick. Our victories had increased our influence: we commanded an immense extent of coast; and we were masters of the mouths of most of the great navigable rivers. The Emperor resolved to strike with the very arms which England wielded. She had laid our coast under an interdict, and had proclaimed a blockade which her fleets were unable to realize. The Emperor adopted this vigorous conception, and determined to close the continent against England. The measure was violent, but England disregarded every right. It was necessary to put a term to her aggressions; to compel her to abjure her unjust pretensions. The progress of civilisation has long since set limits to warfare. The operations of that scourge are usually directed solely against governments, and no longer extended to individuals: property is not made to change hands; the warehouses of the merchant are respected, and personal freedom remains undisturbed: of all the conquered population, only the combatants, those who bear arms, incur the risk of losing their liberty. These principles have been sanctioned by many treaties, and have been recognised by all nations. Now, however, the English asserted pretensions which they never put forth until after the capture of Toulon, and the war of the west had annihilated our navy. To lay it down as a rule that private property found on board of merchantmen under an enemy's flag must be seized, and the passengers made prisoners, was bringing us back to the practice of those barbarous ages when peasants and soldiers were alike reduced to slavery, and no one escaped the grasp of the

conqueror except by paying him a ransom. The minister for foreign affairs who reported on this subject justly branded the odious pretensions of England, and the grounds on which she founded them. His reports made an impression on us, the recollection of which I still retain, and more particularly the impression produced by the last. That report was in these terms:—

"Three centuries of civilisation have given to Europe a law of nations, which, according to the expression of a celebrated writer, human nature cannot sufficiently acknowledge.

"This right is founded on the principle, that nations ought in peace to do as much good, and in war as little ill as possible.

"According to the maxim that war is not a relation of man to man, but of state to state, in which individuals are only enemies accidentally, not as men, not even as members or subjects of the state, but merely as its defenders, the laws of nations do not permit that the laws of war, or the right of conquest derived therefrom, should be extended to unarmed, peaceable citizens, to dwelling-houses and private property, to articles of merchandise, and to the warehouses which contain them, the waggons which remove them, or the unarmed vessels which carry them through rivers and seas:—in a word, to any thing which constitutes the means and property of private individuals.

"This right which arose with civilisation has favoured its progress. To it Europe is indebted for the growth and the maintenance of her prosperity, amidst the numerous wars with which she has been distracted.

"England alone has recurred to the practice of barbarous times. France has done every thing to mitigate an evil which she could not prevent. England, on the contrary, has done every thing to aggravate it. Not content with attacking trading-ships, and making the crews of unarmed vessels prisoners of

war, every individual belonging to a hostile state she holds to be an enemy; and has accordingly made factors and merchants travelling on commercial business prisoners of war.

"Having remained long behind the nations of the continent who preceded her in the route of civilisation, and having received from them all kinds of benefits, England has formed the insane project of securing the sole possession of those advantages by wresting them from other nations. With this view she has, under the name of right of blockade, invented and put in practice the most monstrous theory.

"According to the principles and practice of all civilized nations, the right of blockade is only applicable to fortified places. England, however, pretends to extend it to places of trade which are not fortified, to unarmed ships, and to the mouths of rivers.

"A place is not blockaded until it be so completely invested that nothing can approach it without being exposed to imminent danger. England has, however, declared places blockaded before which she had not a single ship of war. She has done more:—she has dared to declare immense coasts and the whole of a vast empire in a state of blockade.

"Next deducing from a chimerical right and a supposed fact the consequence that, on a simple declaration of the British Admiralty, she might make prey, and really making prey, of every thing going to or coming from the places put under interdict by such declaration, she has alarmed neutral navigators, and driven them from the ports which their interest and the laws of nations invited them to frequent.

"The natural right of self-defence permits us to oppose an enemy with the same arms he uses, and to make his own fury and folly recoil on himself.

"Since England has ventured to declare all France in a state of blockade; let France in her turn declare that the British isles are blockaded! Since England considers every Frenchman an enemy, let all Englishmen, or subjects of Eng-

land in the countries occupied by the French armies, be made prisoners of war! Since England seizes the private property of peaceable merchants, let the property of every Englishman or subject of England, of whatever nature, be confiscated; let all commerce in English merchandise be declared illicit, and let all produce of the English colonies found in places occupied by the French troops be confiscated!

"Since England desires to impede every kind of navigation and maritime commerce, let no ship from the British isles or colonies be received into the French ports, nor into the ports of any of the countries occupied by the French armies; and let every vessel attempting to proceed from these ports to England be seized and confiscated!

"As soon as England shall admit the authority of the law of nations universally observed by civilized countries—as soon as she shall acknowledge that the laws of war are the same by sea and by land; that those laws and the rights of conquest cannot be extended either to private property or to unarmed and peaceable individuals, and that the right of blockade ought to be limited to fortified places actually invested—your Majesty will cause these rigorous, but not unjust measures to cease and determine; for justice between nations is nothing but exact reciprocity."

The Emperor approved of the principles laid down by the minister, and adopted the proposed measures. He prohibited all trade and correspondence with England. He declared that country in a state of blockade,* cut it off from all com-

* *Extract from the Minutes of the Secretary of State's Office.*

In our Imperial Camp, Berlin, Nov. 26, 1806.

Napoleon, Emperor of the French and King of Italy, considering:—

1. That England does not acknowledge the law of nations universally observed by all civilized nations;

2. That she holds for an enemy every individual belonging to a hostile state, and in consequence thereof makes prisoners of war, not only the crews of armed vessels,

munication with the continent, and placed it in a situation

but also the crews of trading-ships, or merchantmen, and even of factors and merchants travelling on account of their commercial business;

3. That she extends to commercial vessels and merchandise, and to the property of individuals, the right of conquest which is only applicable to what belongs to the hostile state;

4. That she extends to commercial towns and ports not fortified, to havens and the mouths of rivers, the right of blockade, which, according to the practice of civilized nations, is only applicable to fortified places;

5. That she declares blockaded places before which she has not even a single ship of war, though no place is blockaded until it be so invested that it cannot be approached without imminent danger;

6. That she even declares in a state of blockade places which her whole force united would be unable to blockade, the entire coast of an empire;

7. That this monstrous abuse of the right of blockade has no other object than to prevent communications between different countries, and to raise the trade and manufactures of England on the ruin of the industry of the continent;

8. That such being evidently the object of England, whosoever deals in English merchandise on the continent thereby favours her designs, and becomes her accomplice;

9. That this conduct on the part of England, which is worthy of the early ages of barbarism, has operated to the advantage of that power, and to the injury of others;

10. That it is a part of natural law to oppose one's enemy with the arms he employs, and to fight in the way he fights, when he disavows all those ideas of justice, and all those liberal sentiments which are the results of social civilisation;

We have resolved to apply to England the measures to which she has sanctioned by her maritime legislation.

The enactments of the present decree shall be invariably considered as a fundamental principle of the empire, until such time as England acknowledge that the law of war is one and the same by land and by sea; that it cannot be extended to private property of any description whatsoever, nor to the persons of individuals not belonging to the profession of arms, and that the law of blockade ought to be limited to fortified places actually invested by competent forces.

Accordingly, we have decreed and do decree as follows:—

Art. 1. The British islands are declared in a state of blockade.

Art. 2. All trade and intercourse with the British islands is prohibited. Consequently, letters or packets addressed to England or to any native of England, or written in the English language, will not be conveyed by post, and will be seized.

Art. 3. Every native of England, whatever his rank or condition, who may be found in the countries occupied by our troops or by those of our allies, shall be made prisoner of war.

the disagreeable consequences of which it very soon severely felt.

Art. 4. Every warehouse, and all merchandise and property of any description whatever, belonging to an English subject, or the produce of English manufactures or colonies, is declared good prize.

Art. 5. Trade in English merchandise is prohibited; and all merchandise belonging to England, or the produce of her manufactures and colonies, is declared good prize.

Art. 6. One-half of the produce of the confiscation of the merchandise and property declared good prize by the preceding articles, will be appropriated to the indemnification of the merchants for losses they have sustained through the capture of trading-vessels by English cruisers.

Art. 7. No vessel coming directly from England or her colonies, or having been there since the publication of the present decree, will be received in any port.

Art. 8. Any vessel which, by means of a false declaration, shall contravene the above article, shall be seized; and the ship and cargo shall be confiscated as if they were English property.

Art. 9. Our prize-court of Paris shall pronounce final judgment in all disputes that may arise in our empire, or the countries occupied by the French army, relative to the execution of the present decree. Our prize-court of Milan shall pronounce final judgment in all the said disputes that may arise throughout our kingdom of Italy.

Art. 10. Our minister for foreign affairs will communicate the present decree to the Kings of Spain, Naples, Holland, and Etruria, and to our other allies, whose subjects, like our own, are suffering from the injustice and barbarism of the maritime legislation of England.

Art. 11. Our ministers for foreign affairs, war, marine, finance, and police, and our postmasters-general, are directed, according as they are severally concerned, to carry the present decree into execution.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

CHAPTER II.

The army enters Poland—Overturning of Marshal Duroc's carriage—Fatigue and privation of the troops—Cantonment of the army—Head-quarters established at Warsaw.

THESE measures being taken, the Emperor set out for Poland. He knew that the Russian army was continuing its march; and for the success of his subsequent operations, it was important not to afford it time to cross the Vistula, as otherwise we should have been obliged to fix our winter-quarters in a bad position, or to recross the Oder to winter in Prussia. In the latter case, Silesia, where we had operations to pursue, would have been left uncovered; and we should, moreover, have seen the Prussian army recruited by the Poles, who, as it was, ranged themselves under our banners.

These considerations determined the Emperor to make the army take the field in the month of December; and it marched at once upon Warsaw, Thorn, and Dirschau. It encountered no obstacle, nor any Russian troops, except a few hundred cossacks, at about fifteen or twenty leagues on this side of Warsaw, of whom no notice was taken. When it reached the banks of the river, the bridges of boats were reconstructed by the resources of the country.

The bridge of Warsaw had just been burned: it had been built on piles, but it was rebuilt with boats. The bridge of Thorn, which had also been on piles, was but slightly damaged; and the bridge of Dirschau, which was of boats, was rebuilt as before.

We had found in the arsenals of Berlin all the resources of the Prussian monarchy, which, combined with those we previously possessed, enabled us, in a moment, to smooth down difficulties which appeared insurmountable. For example,

the three bridges above-mentioned were so rapidly restored, that our troops were not delayed an hour. They had to cross some terrible marshes between the Oder and the Vistula.

The Emperor performed this journey in a carriage. Marshal Duroc's carriage, which preceded his, was overturned in a bad part of the road. The marshal had his right clavicle broken; and he could not be removed until a conveyance was sent from the nearest village to fetch him.

Next day the Emperor arrived at Warsaw. His entrance to the city was hailed by the Poles with enthusiastic delight: however, he could not remain there. The Russian army was approaching, and there was not a moment to be lost. He made the chief portion of the army advance on the Bug, by the way of Warsaw.

The rest advanced by Thorn, and brought its right into communication with the portion which had proceeded to Warsaw. All the troops who had crossed the Vistula below Thorn marched on Marienburg and Elbing.

From that moment Dantzic had no communication with its metropolis (Konigsberg), except by the tongue of sand which separates the Frisch-Haff from the sea.

The right of the army, which had advanced to Warsaw, soon fell in with the Russians, who were retiring across some plains of black dusty earth, which the rain had converted into marshes. It was found necessary to quadruple the trains of the artillery, in order to get it forward, and consequently a great number of guns were left on the road.

The Emperor manœuvred the corps who had arrived at Thorn, and who were destined to intercept the communication between Preuss-Eylau and Warsaw, so as to force the Russians to abandon that road; but, unfortunately, they encountered marshes in the course of their progress, which obliged them to advance slowly, to avoid the necessity of leaving their artillery behind them.

The scarcity of provisions was speedily felt. Fuel and

forage were not wanting; but no provisions had yet entered Warsaw, and, consequently, none could reach the army. Nothing but the naturally cheerful spirit of the troops could have enabled them to bear up against these privations and fatigues. The Emperor frequently showed himself among them. On those occasions he was always on horseback; and he regarded neither fatigue nor danger. The soldiers were always overjoyed to see him. He conversed with them, and they often said the most singular things to him. One day, when the weather was dreadfully bad, a soldier said to the Emperor, "It was a fine whim, truly, to bring us to such a country as this, without bread to eat." On which the Emperor replied, "Have patience for only four days: that is all I ask; and you shall then be cantoned."—"Well," said the soldiers, "Four-days: that is not very long, to be sure; but after that, remember, we shall canton ourselves." The Emperor liked the men who thus used the freedom of speaking frankly to him: he was always persuaded that they were the bravest.

By dint of patience and perseverance we at length came up with the Russian army, at the entrance of the forest on the other side of the little town of Pultusk, where it had formed itself for the purpose of covering the road from Macloff to Preuss-Eylau, as well as that leading from Ostrolenka to Grodno.

The Emperor immediately gave orders for the attack. There was but little artillery on either side, and therefore the discharge of musketry was kept up with vigour; and as we were hourly reinforced by some new corps which had succeeded in getting through the mud, we had, about three in the afternoon, so great a numerical superiority that we attacked the Russian line in front, broke it, and dispersed it in the woods. The enemy was pursued for several days. That part of his army which had taken the road to Preuss-Eylau fell in with a series of echelons of our troops, by which it sus-

tained considerable loss, having 50 or 60 pieces of cannon taken, and 7 or 8000 men made prisoners.

The Emperor kept his promise to the troops. He felt that it would be cruel to require them to make greater sacrifices, and he accordingly ordered the army to be cantoned.

It was posted on the Vistula: the infantry as closely as possible, and the heavy cavalry on the left bank. The light cavalry had to pass a bad winter; for it remained in the country which had been abandoned by the two armies, and where it was incessantly harassed by the cossacks.

The Russian army retired behind the Pregel, occupying Konigsberg as a central point.

The Emperor established himself at Warsaw. This was on the 1st of January, 1807. He calculated on remaining there until the return of spring; and he proposed to employ the interval in endeavouring to obtain peace.

He sent orders to M. de Talleyrand to join him at Warsaw, and directed him to inform the foreign ambassadors who were in Paris that he wished them also to repair thither. This measure was attended by several good effects. In the first place, the ambassadors thus obtained more speedy and correct information of what the Emperor had to communicate to them; and next, they were not misled by those false reports which are always circulated in a great city like Paris. Austria sent General Vincent from Vienna to the imperial head-quarters, in lieu of M. de Metternich who remained in Paris. I do not know whether this arrangement was made in consequence of any wish manifested by France, or whether it was a spontaneous measure of the Austrian government.

The concourse which was now assembled at Warsaw, once more restored it to the importance of a capital. A certain degree of form was observed in every department of the Emperor's household, which exhibited all the luxuries and elegancies of French life, unaccompanied by any appearance of ostentation or effort. So much dexterity and promptitude

was observed in packing and unpacking, that a service of plate has been carried from Paris, used during a whole campaign, and brought home again, without sustaining the slightest damage.

Our halt at Warsaw was delightful. With the exception of theatres, the city presented all the gaieties of Paris. Twice a week the Emperor gave a concert; after which a court was held, which led again to numerous meetings in private parties. On these occasions the personal beauty and graceful manners of the Polish ladies were conspicuous. It may truly be said that they excited the jealousy of the most charming women of other nations. With the most polished elegance they combine a fund of information, which is not usually found even among French women; and they are very superior to the generality of females bred in cities, to whom habit renders company almost a necessary of life. The Polish ladies of rank always pass one-half of the year in the country, where probably they apply themselves to reading and the cultivation of their minds; and they return to spend the winter-season in the capital, graced with those talents and accomplishments which render them so peculiarly attractive.

The Emperor and all the French officers paid their tribute of admiration to the charms of the fair Poles. There was one whose powerful fascinations made a deep impression on the Emperor's heart. He conceived an ardent affection for her, which she cordially returned. She received with pride the homage of a conquest which was the consummation of her happiness. It is needless to name her, when I observe that her attachment remained unshaken amidst every danger, and that, at the period of Napoleon's reverses, she continued his faithful friend.

While time passed away thus agreeably at Warsaw, duty was not neglected. The Emperor made every exertion to revictual and provide for his army. The frost had now dried up the roads, and convoys could proceed along them. But

the utmost disorder prevailed in our commissariats, and in the midst of an abundant country we were on the point of experiencing the severest privations.

This state of things caused the Emperor to be dissatisfied with the intendant-general, who, however, was not altogether in fault. He could only write and order; but as each general in the cantonments occupied by the troops under his command ruled with absolute authority, he might, if he chose forbid the execution of the intendant's orders.

The Emperor was obliged himself to superintend this business; and he issued a strict prohibition against those abuses of authority, which must inevitably have proved fatal to us. At the same time, to obviate all future inconvenience, he determined that the provisioning of the army should be performed by the Polish regency, who wrote directly to all its agents in the different provinces. These agents were directed to report on the least opposition they might experience from the generals and other military officers in the execution of the orders they received for supplying the army.

Order was then established, and Warsaw was plentifully supplied. The distributions were regulated, and the magazines soon overflowed. All that now remained to be done was to make arrangements for the hospital-service, to provide the necessary means of relieving the sufferings and recruiting the strength of our invalids. To this object the Emperor directed particular attention. His solicitude on this point may be judged of from the following instructions, which he transmitted from Posen to the intendant-general:—

"Posen, Dec. 12th.

"1st. Six thousand mattresses are to be made at Berlin without the least delay: for this purpose three hundred and twenty thousand pounds of wool in the magazines, and the sixteen thousand ells of packing cloth or ticking at Berlin and Spandau, are to be used. As soon as two hundred mattresses are made they must be forwarded to Posen, and the rest sent successively.

"2nd. Twelve thousand tents shall be immediately employed for making nine thousand pairs of sheets; and an additional twelve thousand tents shall likewise be used for making forty thousand shirts and forty thousand pairs of trowsers for the service of the hospitals. As soon as five thousand of each of the above articles may be completed, they are to be sent by the most expeditious conveyance to Posen, for the service of the hospitals in Poland.

"3rd. A thousand mattresses shall be contracted for at Posen. The intendant-general shall order two thousand coverlets and two thousand mattresses in Lower Silesia, and an equal number of both articles at Stettin. Four thousand coverlets shall be ordered in the department of Custrin, and more particularly at Landsberg and Frankfort.

"4th. The price of the articles ordered, as above directed, shall be fixed by the intendant-general, and their payment shall be deducted from the contributions levied in each department. As soon as one thousand of the coverlets ordered in the department of Custrin shall be made, they must be forwarded to Posen. It must be so arranged, that a thousand are delivered before the 18th of December; therefore it will be advisable to take those in preference which are already made.

"5th. There shall be attached to each hospital in Poland a Catholic priest to officiate as chaplain. He shall be appointed by the intendant-general. This priest shall also superintend the hospital-attendants; and he shall have a salary of one hundred francs per month, to be paid on the 30th of each month.

"The hospital-attendants shall be paid daily by the direction of the chaplain, at the rate of twenty sous per day, independently of a ration of provisions, which shall be distributed to them. The hospital-director shall pay the attendants in the presence of the chaplain out of the funds at his disposal, which will be hereafter specified.

"6th. The intendant-general, out of the funds placed at his disposal by the minister for the war department, will arrange so that each hospital-director shall always have in his treasury, and in advance, a sum equivalent to twelve francs for each patient that the hospital is calculated to contain. These funds will be employed in paying the salaries of the attendants, and in purchasing trifling necessaries, such as eggs, milk, &c. Meat, bread, and wine, shall be supplied by the commissariat; and it is expressly forbidden, on the responsibility of each individual, that any application shall be made to the municipalities for trifling necessaries, such as those above mentioned.

"Every week the war-commissioner, appointed to superintend the hospital, shall report to the intendant-general the expenditure made out of the allowance of twelve francs for each patient the hospital may be capable of containing; and also what may have been laid out in paying the salaries of attendants for purchasing trifling necessaries, and also for washing, in order that the intendant-general may furnish new funds in proportion to the expenses.

"For these funds the war-commissaries, who have the superintendence of the hospitals, are responsible.

"7th. This order being applicable to all the military hospitals (with the exception of the chaplain in hospitals out of Poland), his Majesty directs that, twenty-four hours after the present regulations are made known to whomsoever they may concern, all the medicine-chests shall be supplied for two months, and for the number of patients which the hospitals are capable of accommodating: the medicines being paid for in ready money to the apothecaries by whom they are furnished, and out of the funds which the intendant-general will, for this purpose, place at the disposal of the hospital-directors. His Majesty orders that all that may be hitherto due to the different apothecaries who have supplied the different hospitals shall be paid without delay, by direction of the

intendant-general, and whatever may be due to the apothecaries at Posen shall be now paid.

"The intendant-general will adopt the necessary measures, and the minister of the war department will place at his disposal whatever funds he may require.

"8th. The inventory of medicines, purchased for the supply of the hospital-chests for two months, shall be sent to the general office of the military hospitals; but the said medicines shall be paid for before the delivery of the said inventories, and in the places where they are procured, under the warrant of the war-commissary appointed to superintend the particular hospital, issued on the credit opened for him by the intendant-general. The intendants of provinces or departments are authorized to order the immediate liquidation of the said warrants, allowing the receivers of provinces or departments to take credit in their payments for the amount.

"9th. When any medicine is wanting in an hospital-chest, notwithstanding the supply made in consequence of the above regulations, the hospital-director is, in that case, authorized to purchase the medicine wherever he may be able to procure it, out of the allowance for trifling necessaries, that is to say, out of the twelve francs; and in a week at latest, the payments made out of this allowance shall be examined by the war-commissary having the superintendence of the hospital regulations.

"*10th.* Measures shall be taken for supplying the hospitals with good wheaten bread. The intendant-general will, as far as he is able, distribute Stettin wine, which is the best that can be procured."

Independently of these minute details, which I feel pleasure in quoting, because they show the Emperor's anxiety for the welfare of his wounded troops, other affairs also claimed a share of his attention. He passed a portion of the night in consultation with M. de Talleyrand. He was seriously intent on obtaining peace; and he deliberated on the measures

to which he might be compelled to resort, in case he should not succeed in opening a negotiation.

But even these matters, together with the business of the army, did not exclusively occupy his mind. During the Emperor's absence the council of ministers assembled in Paris, under the presidence of the arch-chancellor; but it deliberated only on affairs of general interest. Reports were made to the council as to the Emperor, and even, if the occasion required it, accompanied by the draught of a decree; but when any political business of a very delicate nature, or any measure to which particular interest was attached, came under consideration, the ministers wrote to the Emperor confidentially, and he almost always decided without the intervention of third parties.

As to the immense business transacted with the officers employed in the administration of the local affairs of departments or communes, it came all under the cognizance of the secretary of state. This gave M. Maret considerable credit and influence while abroad.

The details of the ministerial transactions were brought from Paris to the army by an auditor of the council of state, who, on arriving at head-quarters, alighted at the residence of the secretary of state, to whom he delivered the portfolios with which his carriage was filled. The secretary of state read all the papers, and afterwards took the Emperor's orders upon them. This practice had a disadvantageous result, inasmuch as it gave dissatisfaction to several of the ministers. How this happened may be easily conceived, since, as all administrative acts passed through the hands of the secretary of state, it was left to him, when he presented any document for the Emperor's signature, to enter into details which the minister, who drew it up, had omitted for the purpose of shortening the business. Herein consisted the mischief, for the success of a proposition made by any minister whatever depended on M. Maret.

For example, in appointments to financial situations, to offices in the tribunals, or in the home department, it was impossible to pass any name to which the secretary of state chose to object. Now, as after a revolution such as ours, there can scarcely be found a man (in the class fitted for public employments) who has not had some share in transactions to which blame may be imputed, it was easy to suggest reasons for exclusion when there appeared in a recommendation to place a name which was disliked. In such cases, the minister from whom the recommendation came could not foresee a rejection; and as it was necessary to fill up the vacancy, M. Maret immediately proposed another person: in this way the Emperor was satisfied, and regarded what was done as proof of zeal to relieve him from difficulties. Care was taken never to tell him that the ministers were greatly irritated by repeated alterations or rejections of their propositions, which brought them into a sort of discredit. They were maliciously called the secretary of state's head clerks. The Emperor was told that it was said at Paris "that his activity was incredible; that it was quite impossible to impose on him in the most trifling matter; that he read every thing." Base adulation, which had mischievous consequences! The secretary of state was followed by a multitude of clients, consisting of candidates for favour who had been suitors of the other ministers: with them came coteries, male and female, formed to support the pretensions of one candidate to the prejudice of another: these were attended by intriguers, always on the watch to discover how the wind blew, who found means to introduce themselves into the office of the secretary. In consequence of this it was not sufficient for an officer to be acceptable to the minister in whose department he was placed: it was necessary for him to make himself also agreeable to the secretary of state and his friends; in the first place that he might be appointed, and in the next

that he might be retained and secured against the effect of unfavourable reports.

This way of doing business began at Warsaw. It was unfortunately too convenient for the Emperor, to whom nothing was said of the complaints it excited; and it was too advantageous to every one who wished for the possession of power to be easily changed. Notwithstanding their repugnance, the ministers were obliged to submit to a system, to which they never were reconciled.*

I have stated these facts, because some years after I had opportunity to know the injurious consequences of the system which had been followed. I was the first who ventured to make any observation to the Emperor on the subject. I told him that these transactions were adding numerous enemies to those we already had, and that a day perhaps would come when the mischief they might do would be irreparable.

CHAPTER III.

The Russians try to surprise us in our winter-quarters—Movement of Mohrungen —The Emperor gives the author the command of the 5th corps—Battle of Eylau—Bernadotte—Affair of Ostrolenka.

THE month of January passed off very quietly; the army remained inactive; the Emperor thought little of what was passing at Paris, but much of the events which might arise around him.

Austria had assembled a corps of observation of forty thousand men in Bohemia, which might, if we sustained a defeat,

* The influence which M. Maret acquired during this campaign may be conjectured, from the fact that he had four ministerial portfolios referred to him each month during the ten months of the Emperor's absence from Paris.

next day assume the offensive, especially since the sovereigns had adopted the system of declaring war only by hostilities, without any notification or explanation of motives.

The Emperor, who not only calculated the probable results of success, but also of disaster, was on the point of making a fresh overture, when an enterprise, undertaken by the Russian army, compelled him to put his own in motion on the 31st of January, in the midst of a very hard frost. Let us see how this came about.

Marshal Bernadotte's corps was on our extreme left; its head-quarters were at Mohrungen. The marshal had orders to extend his left as far as possible, but in such a manner as to give the enemy no ground of alarm, as it was expedient to pass the winter in repose. In this position he was to cover the operations which were preparing to be opened before Dantzic, and for which a corps, of which I shall presently have occasion to speak, was assembled. General Victor was to have taken the command, but on his way to join it he was made prisoner by a party of Prussians from Colberg, who were bold enough to penetrate to the environs of Warsaw.

Marshal Lefevre was sent in the room of General Victor. The rigour of the season rendered it impossible to open trenches before Dantzic. In the meantime, the garrison did nothing; and thus the completion of the corps destined for this service became no longer a matter of pressing necessity: it was thought sufficient to observe the fortress.

On the right of Marshal Bernadotte was stationed Marshal Ney, who had, like all the other commanders, orders to remain inactive. All at once, however, he took it into his head, without orders, to move his army-corps forward. This measure, on his part, was imputed to motives of personal interest; but the imputation was unfounded: armies are not put in motion on such grounds.

The truth was, Marshal Ney marched without orders, and by his movement uncovered the right of Marshal Bernadotte;

but he also thereby fell in with the Russian army, advancing in full march to fall suddenly on Bernadotte's centre: a manœuvre which otherwise would not have been discovered. Ney immediately gave the alarm to all the army as far as Warsaw.

The absurdity of the idea that the enemy merely wished to repulse marauding parties was soon seen. It was evident he was in full operation, in the hope of surprising us in our cantonments, driving us back beyond the Vistula, and, as it might happen, either wintering on its banks, or passing that river by the bridge of Dantzic.

Not a moment was to be lost. The enemy had already got the start of us, when the Emperor sent orders for the different army-corps to concentrate, and to form a junction with him on the road from Warsaw to Konigsberg. He ordered Bernadotte to refuse his left, and to fall back himself, if he found it necessary so to do, in such a manner as to refuse the whole left of the army, and allow the enemy to penetrate to the Lower Vistula. This the marshal did; and fell back on a small town called Strasburg. By thus advancing on our left, the enemy opened to us an equal advance with our right, which continued to march forward, in proportion as he took the opposite direction.

Independently of the main body which marched from Konigsberg, the Russians had a corps of 22,000 men in observation on the Bug, and menacing Warsaw.

Things were in this state when the Emperor quitted that city along with the troops. He arrived at Pultusk, where Marshal Lannes was laid up by sickness, having been forced to quit the command of the 5th corps, which had been marched through that town with the design of opposing the Russian corps on the Upper Bug. The Emperor visited the marshal, and found him so bad, that he ordered him to be removed to Warsaw.

That day the Emperor went as far as ten leagues beyond Pul-

tusk. On taking up his quarters in the evening, he directed me to be called to him, and asked me whether I thought I could take upon myself the command of the 5th corps, in the room of Marshal Lannes. I accepted the offer; and while the Prince de Neufchatel wrote out the necessary orders for me, the Emperor gave me his instructions. These were, to watch the Russian corps so closely as to prevent it from either making a movement on him while he attacked the grand Russian army, or from marching on Warsaw, which city I was to cover at all risks; and finally, if the Russian corps was not too strong for me to drive it back, to do so, but to be sure not to miss my aim. He concluded by recommending to me to be careful not to be seduced by the hope of success.

I left the Emperor, and waited on the major-general, who gave me my commission, together with instructions for my guidance. These documents were couched in the following terms:—

"To General Savary.

"Pragnitz, 31st Jan.

"I have to inform you, general, that the health of Marshal Lannes not permitting him to take the command of his corps, his Majesty gives you a brilliant proof of the confidence he has in your military talents, by nominating you to the command-in-chief of the 5th corps.

"You will set out immediately for your head-quarters at Brock, where the oldest general of division of that army-corps will receive you. You will cause your appointment to be inserted in the order of the day of the corps: you will enjoy the honours, appointments, and emoluments attendant on the rank of general-in-chief."

Orders and Instructions for General Savary.

"The 5th corps of the grand army, general, which you command, is at present occupying Brock: the Russian corps,

under the orders of General Essen occupies Nur. If that general's forces be not too numerous, you must attack him and defeat him in his position at Nur; but if the information which may be obtained incline you to believe that instead of being weakened, the corps of General Essen has been reinforced, you must then confine yourself to occupying Brock and Ostrolenka with your cavalry.

"You will consult Generals Gazan and Campana, who have for a considerable time past been in presence of the enemy, and are acquainted with his movements.

"Whether you remain in observation or attack the enemy, with or without success, the chief aim of the army-corps under your command is to cover the right bank of the Narew, from the river of Omulew (that is the small stream which flows near Ostrolenka) to Sierock; to protect the position of Sierock and the right bank of the Bug, from Sierock to the Austrian quarter.

"It will be very advantageous, general, to construct a small bridge at the point where the Narew flows into the Bug, that is above the confluence. This will be a work of little labour, and the bridge will facilitate the drawing of supplies from Warsaw.

"You will order the works for the bridge-head of Pultusk to be carried on with activity; for should events require it, the greater part of your army-corps would have to retire upon Pultusk or Ostrolenka: a regiment and some pieces of artillery would also fall back upon the Bug to guard the right bank of that river. You are perfectly aware that what I now state to you is hypothetical, but it shows you the necessity of hastening the fortification of the bridge-head.

"Send into Galicia to ascertain whether the intelligence which we have received, and which announces the retreat of General Essen, be correct.

"I must further observe, that it will be necessary for you to post some infantry, with a few pieces of cannon, at Ostro-

lenka, otherwise your cavalry would be molested. This body of infantry can in no case be compromised, for by passing the bridge it will be covered."

I set out forthwith to take the command of the 5th corps at Brock, in front of Pultusk, beyond the Narew.

I was not very cordially received, for all the generals of division in active service were my seniors in rank. It became necessary, therefore, by a conciliating carriage to render that supportable, which appeared to them an act of injustice.

The corps was composed of two divisions of infantry; one under the orders of General Suchet, the other commanded by General Gazan; and of three divisions of light cavalry and one of dragoons, under the orders of General Becker. We were to be supported by the corps of brigaded grenadiers formed at Warsaw, under the command of General Oudinot, who had received orders to repair to Pultusk.

It was on the 2nd of February I took the command of the 5th corps: on the 5th I received orders to quit my position at Brock, and repair to Ostrolenka, in order to place myself in communication with the Emperor, who had fallen in with the enemy's advanced-guard at Hoff, and was about to give him battle.

The troops had to endure many privations, and they were constantly going off in marauding parties to procure potatoes. In consideration of this, I preferred marching upon Ostrolenka by Pultusk, up the Narew, to a flank movement on the left, by which I should probably have lost a considerable number of stragglers and marauders.

I was soon aware I had done wrong. My error arose from my not being sufficiently acquainted with the topography of the country. Had my commission been dated a few days earlier, I should not have exposed Becker's division to the chance of a defeat, from which the skill of its general preserved it. I did not, however, allow myself to be dis-

couraged; but burned with impatience for an opportunity to attack the enemy. Luckily for me, the Emperor was occupied with other affairs, and did not perceive the effect of my movement, which was finally operated without producing any disaster; otherwise, I should have been severely reprimanded for committing such a blunder.

As we approached the enemy, the Emperor concentrated the different army-corps. He dispatched, by different officers, orders to each corps to be at Preuss-Eylau on the 8th, "in condition to give battle on the 9th." He added these words in order that each corps might bring with it every thing which the occasion required.

As ill-luck would have it, the officer dispatched to General Bernadotte was a young man of no experience, who proceeded straight towards the place of his destination, without making any inquiries as to what might be on the road. The consequence was, he fell into the hands of some cossacks, who carried him and his dispatch, which he did not destroy, to the general-in-chief of the Russian army. This trifling accident, which under any other circumstances would have been of no moment, was attended, as we shall see, with disastrous consequences.

As soon as General Benningsen saw the contents of the dispatch, he gave up his previous plans, and set about concentrating his army, which had already been collected in corps. He immediately took the road to Konigsberg, and arrived soon enough to commence an attack, on the 7th February, on the French army, which was only to be concentrated on the 8th, in order to be ready for battle on the 9th.

The Emperor arrived at Eylau in the evening with the 7th corps, commanded by Marshal Augereau; the guard and the corps of Marshal Davout being at a short distance. He was in fact attacked by the whole of the Russian army on the 8th, at seven o'clock in the morning, during a very heavy fall of snow. The 7th corps, having formed in close column, made

a most vigorous resistance; but its fire was silenced by the superiority of the enemy's, and the regiments which composed it were thrown into disorder. At this juncture Marshal Davout came up, and was soon warmly engaged. The enemy kept gaining ground, and was just upon Preuss-Eylau, when the Emperor ordered the guard to attack, and its artillery stopped him. The conflict with the artillery was tremendous. In the interim, Marshals Soult and Ney arrived. The engagement continued with unabated vigour. The charges of cavalry which were, according to the instructions given, constantly repeated, impeded the progress of the Russians, but did not enable the Emperor to attempt any thing decisive. Marshal Bernadotte, who had four divisions of infantry and two of cavalry, was anxiously expected. The accident that had befallen the officer who was the bearer of the dispatch to him was not known. The Emperor was impatient, and sent in all directions to meet him; but in vain. We were obliged to pass the night as well as we could, and thought ourselves fortunate in being able to remain on the field of battle after having sustained so much loss.

The Battle of Eylau was fought by the Russians merely to cover their retreat, which they eventually effected upon Konigsberg without firing a shot. For the honour of our arms we pursued them with our cavalry; but in the meantime the wounded, and all the stores not immediately useful, were removed from Preuss-Eylau.

General Bernadotte was blamed for not marching to the field of battle, though the order did not reach him. This may appear singular; but the fact is that he was in communication with the division of cuirassiers under General Hautpoult, when that general received the order directing him to join the Emperor for the purpose of engaging the enemy. General Hautpoult even stated that he informed Bernadotte of his departure, and of what was intended to be done. Be this as

it may, Hautpoult arrived, fought, and was killed, so that no farther investigation of this affair was practicable. But why did not Bernadotte march when he received the communication from General Hautpoult? He had too much experience in war and its events not to know that if he had received no direct order, it was because some mistake or accident prevented it reaching him. He waited; and he at length marched with his corps, as much with the view of learning what was going on, as of saving his responsibility. But he was too late. When he arrived near Osterode, he learned the retrograde movement of the army which had just taken a position behind the Passarge.

The Emperor seemed to attribute this negligence, respecting which his opinion was perfectly made up, to the capture of the officer. He recollected Jena; but the mischief was done, and he spoke to Bernadotte of it only in mild terms.

After the undecisive battle of Eylau, we thought ourselves happy in passing the remainder of the winter behind the Passarge; whilst, but for the capture of the officer who was bearing the dispatch from the Emperor to Marshal Bernadotte, the Russian army would have continued its offensive movement on the Lower Vistula, and the Emperor would have driven the enemy into a corner, and forced him to engage, either at the Frisch-Haff, or on the Vistula. In that case, how different would have been the results! The Russian army must inevitably have been destroyed, and peace would have been immediately concluded. As it was, the success of our arms became doubtful; and pride on both sides prevented any overture from being made by either.

The Emperor's military position was now not so good as when he quitted Warsaw, while it ought to have been infinitely better. It was attended by difficulties of every kind, which no other but the Emperor would have been able to surmount. But before entering into any detail on this sub-

ject, I will conclude what I have to say respecting the battle of Eylau, which the Russians pretended they had gained, and which we insisted that we had not lost.

As Bernadotte declared that he had received no order to march, and Berthier maintained that he had sent him such an order, reference was made to the records of the dispatches; from which it appeared that the officer who was the bearer of the order was a young pupil of the academy of Fontainebleau, who was going to join a regiment in the corps of Marshal Bernadotte, and the opportunity of his departure had been imprudently seized upon for the transmission of so important a message. The Emperor contemptuously shrugged up his shoulders, but uttered not a word of reproach to Berthier. Bernadotte was in some measure justified, though he had taken no notice of the information given him by d'Hautpoult when that officer quitted his position to join the grand army.

If to remain master of the field, and to pursue the enemy in his retreat, be gaining a battle, there is no doubt that we were victorious at Eylau. Our victory would have been more important, and decidedly unequivocal, if the Russians, instead of retiring on Konigsberg, had followed up their original design of marching on the Vistula, and had been forced to relinquish that design in consequence of the battle. As it was, they tranquilly pursued their plan of retreat, and therefore they might be said not to have lost the battle; but it is very certain that they derived no advantage from their superiority, and that had their troops been commanded by a man like the Emperor, it would have been all over with the French army. The conduct of the Russian general appears the more extraordinary, when it is considered that he knew the Emperor's plan of operations, and that he only determined on the attack because he was convinced he should surprise the French army in its concentrating movement; and because he was moreover certain that Bernadotte, with four divisions of infantry and

two of cavalry, would be out of the way. These considerations throw a shade over the success of the Russians, particularly when it is observed that though their object was to force us behind the Vistula, they were themselves obliged to pass the remainder of the winter behind Konigsberg, and to allow the French army again to take the position it had previously occupied behind the Passarge. Thus we covered the blockade of Dantzic, which was commenced in March, and continued until the place surrendered, without the Russians making any attempt to get it raised.* In this respect, at least, the Russian army failed of attaining the object for which it had put itself in movement.

On the other hand, if the immense loss sustained by the French army, whose corps, as they arrived on the field, were successively engaged with the whole assembled force of the Russians, is to be called losing a battle, it must be admitted that in this point of view the French were defeated. The loss was such as to render our army incapable of acting on the offensive next day; and it would have been completely beaten, if the Russians, instead of retiring, had renewed the attack, because Bernadotte could not arrive until two days after.

To say that the Emperor lost the battle, because he failed in his plan of driving the enemy upon the Frisch-Haff or the Vistula, and attacking him with all his combined force, would be an error: that plan did not fail in consequence of the battle, but because, on the one hand, the Russians retired, and, on the other, Bernadotte's corps had not come up.

The Emperor should have had all his army concentrated; because, if the Russian army, on being apprised of his plan, instead of pursuing its first movement on the Vistula, had determined on retreating before our right outflanked it, the Emperor's plan would still have failed, and the more decidedly, considering the circumstances which ensued.

* The fortress did not capitulate until the 12th of May.

The fact is, that both armies failed in their object; for after the battle they were in the same position as before they put themselves in movement, and their losses were reciprocally without results; but the event gave a shock to public feeling and opinion, which was not favourable to the Emperor; and but for his extreme address it would have been attended by very fatal consequences, as I shall hereafter explain. But I will first conclude my account of the military events which followed those of Eylau.

The Emperor wrote to acquaint me with what had happened, and to order that if I could do nothing against the enemy, I should place myself in communication with the grand army in the position it had taken up behind the Passarge. The dispatch did not contain so much information as I obtained from the officer who brought it.

After reflecting on my situation, I determined to quit my position and to march on the enemy. I ordered my light cavalry forward, and it had the good fortune to capture a Russian officer, who was returning with dispatches from the general-in-chief of the corps of observation on the Upper Bug* to General-in-chief Beningsen, commanding the grand Russian army. From the contents of the letters of which he was the bearer, I found that General Beningsen had been loudly proclaiming his success at Eylau; that he had not spoken of his retreat, and had given orders to Generals Essen and Muller, commanding the corps of the Upper Bug, to march directly upon me and attack me. The officer who was taken informed me that he had left the two generals making their preparations to execute this order.

I was at Sniadow, in advance of Ostrolenka, when this circumstance happened; and I was informed that a Russian corps of between four and five thousand men had been sent to turn my left, and had already passed the Narew, which was com-

* The Bug separates the country on the left bank of the Narew from Galicia.

pletely frozen over, at Tikolshin. I did not think it prudent to quit my position at Ostrolenka, particularly as I could not come up with the Russians in less than one or two days; and as, during that time, the corps of four or five thousand men might arrive by the right bank of the Narew, and do me considerable injury. Besides, the Russians were themselves coming to attack me, and it would have been useless to shorten their march by losing my advantages. On the following day, therefore, I resumed my position, and advanced a corps on the right bank of the Narew to meet that which the Russians had sent there.

I was soon pressed by the Russian army, and on the 15th of February so closely, that I had reason to expect an engagement. The dispositions I adopted were to keep Ostrolenka on the defensive, and to act vigorously on the offensive against the corps which was advancing by the right bank. I accordingly repassed my troops to the right bank behind Ostrolenka, leaving behind only three brigades of infantry, which were stationed out of the reach of the firing, among the sandy downs which surround the town. I placed my artillery so as to flank, on the right bank, the wings of the brigades of infantry of which I have just spoken. My cavalry was useless to me, and I left it unemployed.

Early on the morning of the 16th, I ordered an attack on the Russian corps which was descending the right bank of the Narew. The attack was vigorously led by General Gazan, who met that corps coming to attack himself. He repulsed it on a narrow road between two woods, before it had time to halt and deploy; and as General Gazan had taken the precaution of sending forward some columns of infantry, which got before the Russian corps, by passing into the two woods from the sides of the road, the engagement was kept up for more than two leagues, the musketry firing within half range. The prompt success of this attack exceeded my hopes.

I heard a smart cannonade at Ostrolenka, whither I sent

General Reille, a staff-officer of the army-corps. He arrived just at the right time to supply my place. The Russians were debouching by the three roads which lead to the little town of Ostrolenka. They were cannonading it with nearly fifty guns, and the officers commanding the troops were asking for orders.

I saw very well that they were not inclined to do any thing for my glory; but I was not to be duped, and was determined to be obeyed.

I directed General Reille to keep possession of Ostrolenka until my arrival, adding that I was on the point of proceeding thither. I left Gazan to pursue his success, warning him not to go too far, because I could not make a disposition in echelons to support him, having need of my troops at Ostrolenka, whither I was proceeding with all haste.

I arrived there just as General Reille had sustained the first shock of the attack of the three Russian columns, which advanced without discharging a musket, covered by the firing of their artillery, to force the town.

General Reille waited for them bravely within pistol-shot; and then, as they could no longer be protected by their artillery, he skilfully drew out his troops, and received them with all the grape-shot and musketry he could command. He stopped their advance; and by keeping up the vivacity of his fire, he soon drove them back.

The two columns which advanced on the bank of the Narew by the two wings to force the town, were repulsed by the artillery of the right bank. The ardour of the Russians being now somewhat abated, I sent over all the infantry and cavalry to the left bank; and, after being formed and covered with my artillery, I marched upon the enemy, and kept him engaged the whole of the night. His loss was great, particularly in the attack of General Gazan. I took seven pieces of artillery and three flags. The enemy left behind him about a thousand men wounded; but I did not make many

prisoners, because I could not pursue them, General Oudinot having received orders to set out with his corps to join the Emperor.

In this action General Campana was killed, and General Broussard seriously wounded, as were almost all the colonels of the regiments who were engaged.

I was satisfied, because the Emperor's object was completely fulfilled. The Russians retired to resume the position they had abandoned to come and attack me. The tranquillity of Warsaw was secured, and the communication with the Emperor covered. The Emperor himself was satisfied. He did me the honour to write me a letter, and to send me the grand cordon of the Legion of Honour, together with the patent of a pension of twenty thousand francs for life. There was a certain number of these pensions belonging to the Legion of Honour, one of which had become disposable by the recent death of General d'Hautpoult. But as a good thing is never unaccompanied by its antidote, Berthier addressed to me a long dispatch,* containing advice and assertions calculated to

* "To General Savary.

"Liebstadt, Feb. 21st.

"To-morrow, general, you will receive the advances for your army-corps, which you solicited from the Emperor. I received at three in the afternoon your letter of the 17th, which by mistake had been dated the 28th. I must tell you in confidence, my dear Savary, that the Emperor finds your dispatches obscure, because there is no arrangement observed in them. In the first place, you must relate the facts, describe the respective positions of the two armies, then explain your own position; but in reasoning you must be careful to distinguish the different hypotheses. You should consider that the letter you are replying to is no longer fresh in the Emperor's memory; and that in discussing his letters, it is necessary to give the questions to which your answers apply. You will be aware that my old friendship for you, and my long standing and experience, authorize me to address you thus.

"The Emperor is sorry that General Oudinot should have quitted you, because, having found the enemy, it would have been advisable to make half a march upon him. It would be unfortunate if, on learning the departure of General Oudinot, he should advance upon you, and do any thing to destroy the fruit of your

temper the satisfaction which my success and the approbation of the Emperor had caused me. The advice his long ex-

victory. Since you have sent General Suchet to Willenberg, and the communications being free, you must be aware that the departure of General Oudinot was not a matter of urgent utility.

"The season, together with the lesson which General Essen has received, will probably induce him to remain tranquil. But be assured that he has no more than twenty thousand men.

"If you can maintain yourself at Ostrolenka, it is the Emperor's intention that you should concentrate your corps there, in the first place, because it is necessary to send away all your wounded. Form some detachments of cavalry, and some of infantry to support the cavalry. These detachments will support and maintain the lines of the Omulew, and cover that of the Wkra.

"If you cannot maintain yourself at Ostrolenka, his Majesty's intention is that you should fix your head-quarters at Pultusk, still occupying Ostrolenka by a corps consisting of infantry, cavalry, and artillery. You will guard the line of the Omulew by pickets of infantry and cavalry detached from the corps of observation at Ostrolenka.

"On the first offensive movement which the enemy may make on Ostrolenka, the corps of observation should throw itself on the right bank of the Narew, and behind the Omulew, and if forced in that position, it should retire behind the little river Orezyc. Under these circumstances, you should manœuvre so as to maintain your posts on the Orezyc, because they would cover the communication with the army. But if the enemy's force be considerable, and you think you may with advantage give him battle at Pultusk, you should repass the Narew, keeping up a force at Siorock, whose fortifications must already have acquired an important aspect.

"Such are your general instructions. Your operations must never be connected with those of the grand army. Your task is to defend Warsaw, at the same time defending, as far as possible, Siorock and the Narew; and if you should be forced in these positions, you must defend Praga and the Vistula. You are aware, general, that this is only in the event of the enemy's attempting a great operation against you, which, however, is not likely, as he will be too much awed by the position which a portion of the army occupies at Osterode and Guttstadt.

"If the enemy on his side should maintain himself in observation, you must, as I have said, act so as to keep him at a distance from our communications, and to guard Ostrolenka and Omulew by a corps of observation, consisting of cavalry, infantry, and artillery. A single regiment which Marshal Davout left with General Grandeau at Mysziniec so awed the enemy, that communications were maintained for a fortnight, and yet that regiment was twenty leagues distant, and had no line to cover it.

"The Emperor, general, desires that you should canton your troops so that they

perience, doubtless, authorized him to give, and I received it with gratitude. But I was astonished at his obstinacy in repeating an estimate, the inaccuracy of which I had pointed out to him. I expressed my surprise at this; but he persisted. For my part, I was convinced that I had before me the state of the force with which I had to contend.

may repose after the fatigues they have undergone. You may even extend them as far as Praznitz, where there is an occupied position, as there is also at Makow. The little towns of Pultusk, Nazielzk, and all the surrounding country, are at your disposal. You may therefore procure from them all that is necessary for the maintenance of your troops.

"A division of ten thousand Bavarians is marching from Silesia to Warsaw. It will join your corps, and will concur in the same object. The Emperor considers it necessary that you should occupy Wiskowo. The Polish legion which is concentrating at Warsaw may be directed to occupy that point.

"You perceive, general, from the line of operations prescribed to you, that you ought not to be embarrassed with equipages, baggage, &c. even at Pultusk. It is only necessary that you should have a fortnight's supply of flour, bread, and brandy, for your corps. Direct your attention essentially to the commissariat, in order that your troops may be well fed. Let General Becker's division of dragoons repose. Finally, send out good spies, lay ambushes, and order surprises, so as to make a few prisoners: by this means you will obtain intelligence. Write to me every day, and let me know the state of your cantonments.

"I think it right to mention, general, that when I say your operations have nothing in common with the grand army, it is only in reference to the great military operations; for you must always keep watch, and carefully cover the communications from Warsaw to Osterode, and, consequently, you must correspond with General Davout, who will have posts at Neidenburg. You see that your instructions are divided into two parts: 1st, a great military operation in case the enemy should assume the offensive; and 2nd, an ordinary operation for remaining in observation, and covering the communications with Warsaw.

"In the first case, you act alone.

"In the second, you must be careful to cover the communications with Warsaw.

"You will find subjoined the route of the army, which is defended by the Omulew and the Wkra."

CHAPTER IV.

The Emperor at Osterode—State of public opinion—Fouché—Agitation of the cabinet of Madrid—Various measures adopted by the Emperor—The Divan arms against Russia—General Gardanne's mission.

I PREPARED to execute the orders which the major-general had transmitted to me. I repaired to Pultusk, and put myself in communication with Osterode, where the Emperor had established himself. I had no sooner arrived at Pultusk than he sent Marshal Massena to take the command of the 5th corps, directing me to rejoin him as soon as possible.

I did so, proceeding by the way of Warsaw, where M. de Talleyrand still was with the diplomatic body, who, there was reason to rejoice, had not been left in Paris. The stories which were at this period circulated would have biassed the opinion and judgment of all its members.

M. de Talleyrand served the Emperor in the best possible manner. He had to manage Austria, to whom the event of Eylau afforded a temptation to resort to arms; the more especially, as some altercation had arisen at Vienna between our ambassador and certain persons of consequence, and as a political character would willingly have been given to these differences to justify an exasperation of feeling, which it was wished to excite in order to lead to a rupture. Luckily our ambassador was firm and prudent, and by his conduct aided M. de Talleyrand in maintaining harmony. On the other hand he had to infuse confidence into the Polish regency, which was much alarmed, precisely at the moment when the Emperor was calling upon it to make efforts of every kind.

The administration of the army had been removed to Thorn. I found the Emperor at Osterode, living in much the same style as in bivouac; eating, sleeping, giving audience,

and transacting business, all in one apartment. He resisted the importunities of all persons about him, who, as well as the Grand-duke of Berg and Berthier, solicited him to repass the Vistula. He alone held out. He had just received from Paris the news of the arrival of the bulletin of the battle of Eylau in that capital. Its effect had been most dispiriting; lamentations were heard every where, and the public funds had experienced a marked depression. He clearly perceived that still worse would follow, if, after all that had happened, he should repass the Vistula. The moral position in which he was thus placed was horrible. He struggled against the opinions of all. He alone kept up his head against the storm; he alone had courage for every one else; and his inflexible obstinacy restored reason to those heads from which alarm had discarded it.

He wrote in a severe style to the minister of the police; observing that there must have been negligence on his part, since there was no occasion for such a discredit, or that he had even given full scope to that malevolence which is ever ready to avail itself of any thing calculated to injure the sovereign authority.

The minister, frightened at the idea of sustaining the Emperor's displeasure a second time in the course of the same campaign, procured a letter from General Defrance to his father-in-law, in which that general gave an account of the battle of Eylau; and added, that he was going with his brigade of carbineers to resume his former cantonments behind the Vistula. He sent this letter to the Emperor, and represented it as the cause of the decline of the funds, because, he said, General Defrance's father-in-law had handed it about.

The Emperor expressed his dissatisfaction to General Defrance. But the minister had told a downright falsehood: it would have been more correct to have said that the decline of the funds was occasioned by that alarm which could not fail to become general, whenever it appeared that on a single

battle depended the destiny of every family in France. But this he dared not say; and the Emperor, while he reprimanded General Defrance, was not deceived by the misrepresentations of his minister. He concerned himself less about what was doing in Paris than with the affairs of the army.

The Emperor re-assembled Marshal Lefevre's corps, which was to commence the siege of Dantzic. The losses sustained at Eylau had obliged him to suppress the 7th corps, whose regiments were reduced to a single battalion. Marshal Augereau, having received a shot-wound, returned to France, and a portion of his troops formed the nucleus of the besieging corps.

After the conclusion of peace with Saxony, the Emperor had requested the sovereign of that country to transfer his army to Posen. It arrived there, and was afterwards ordered to join the besieging corps before Dantzic. To this force were added some troops from Baden, and other German principalities, together with some free corps formed from deserters. Thus, at the close of March, there was assembled a respectable besieging army, though composed of troops of all countries.

The Emperor himself superintended the infinite details of all these military dispositions; and, at the same time, he had to see that his movable army was reinforced.

After the battle of Jena and the occupation of Prussia, the Emperor had offered peace to the King. But after the battle of Eylau, such a proposal would have appeared like a solicitation. Besides, the King of Prussia had placed himself in a state of dependance on the Emperor of Russia, whose troops were his safeguard. He could do nothing without communicating with the Emperor of Russia; and he was not with the army, but at St. Petersburg: thus it was impossible to set on foot a negotiation. Several frivolous pretences were seized on for communicating by means of flags of truce. But

these sort of overtures were received with coldness and pride, and sometimes even with arrogance.

No opportunity of opening a negotiation was neglected; but at the same time the measures necessary for rendering the force of the army respectable were promptly executed.

Marshal Mortier's corps, which was in Pomerania, was sent for: it was made No. 7, and augmented by some Saxon troops. Thus the void occasioned by the disappearance of Augereau's corps was completely filled up.

The operations of the corps in Silesia under Prince Jerome were so far advanced, that some portion of his force might be withdrawn without disadvantage. Two Bavarian divisions were therefore taken from him. He remonstrated loudly; but he was not listened to.

All the men in the depôts of the different regiments were sent for from France. A decided impulse was imparted to Poland; and there was no longer any fear of compromising France with respect to her, nor of compromising her with reference to any power whatever.

The Emperor directed his ambassador at Constantinople to make the Turks declare war against Russia. This was undertaking the labours of Hercules: however, the order was obeyed.

He wrote to the King of Spain to claim the fulfilment of the conditions of the alliance contracted between them, and to demand that there should be sent to France a Spanish corps of a specified force to be at his option movable, if need be, to the Elbe; it being understood that the troops were then to be in the pay of France. Finally, he painted the situation of Europe to the senate, and demanded that, as a precautionary measure, the conscription of 1807 should be called out, which was done.

He was every where served to his utmost wishes, except by Spain, who made some observations, the nature of which I

do not very well know. But in the preceding month of October, a proclamation of a warlike character had been addressed to the Spanish people. As the government had given no explanation on this subject, it naturally created some uneasiness, especially as the Emperor had already been twice deceived, and as the sovereigns seemed to have renounced all sort of good faith towards him, recognising as just every kind of aggression that could be executed.

However, our relations with Spain were so intimate and of such long standing, that, in spite of unfavourable appearances, every suspicion was repressed. It was already known that the hostile intrigue, which pursued our policy from cabinet to cabinet, had found its way to Madrid, where the Prince of the Peace, who was in a great measure supported by the idea that he was agreeable to France, was obliged to relax and yield in order to avert the storm which threatened him. The intrigues of favourites, confessors, and courtiers, had occasionally sown discord among the members of the royal family; and the King had been obliged to exercise authority over his children, and to send the courtiers and confessors to their estates and their convents.

At the distance at which the Emperor was placed, he could see what was going on only by the help of a magnifying glass; and though he appeared to be satisfied, he was very impatient to ascertain the cause of the sudden change on the part of Spain. In her proclamation she had gone too far for the maintenance of security, and not far enough to stir up a war, if such had been her design.

The Emperor received in good part all the excuses that were made to him; and besides, his attention was seriously directed to other objects. He was anxious to avoid furnishing his enemies with any favourable opportunity of approximating with Spain; but he, was, nevertheless, convinced that something remained to be cleared up in his relations with that country.

He, however, urgently insisted on the Spanish contingent being sent to France; and this was accordingly done. He ordered it to the Hans Towns to relieve the Dutch, who had replaced Mortier's corps in Pomerania. Another Spanish corps proceeded to Italy.

The Emperor had issued all the necessary orders for re-victualling and recruiting the army: he had made every requisite communication to his allies; and finally, the lever was moved which was destined to shake the power of his enemies on all sides. He had even sent to Persia to induce that power to take up arms. His enemies have given a malignant colouring to this measure, ascribing it to ambitious views, the object of which was alleged to be the gaining a step towards India. But the Emperor gave his ambassador no other instructions than to use active exertions to induce the Persians to form a regular army, and thereby to acquire such a threatening aspect as would oblige the Russians to divide the forces with which they were opposing him.* The

* "Monsieur Decrès,

"On reading attentively the report of the state of the navy for the 1st of April, I observe with satisfaction the good condition of my squadron at Cadiz. I am, however, sorry to find, that at Toulon you have not yet armed the Robuste and the Commerce de Paris. I wish to have these two ships in the roads, which, with the Annibal, the Genevais, and the Borée, would give me five.

"The Grand Seignior urgently entreats me to send five ships to Constantinople to join his squadron in making cruises in the Black Sea. He himself has fifteen armed ships. I therefore beg that you will get the Robuste and the Commerce de Paris into the roads without delay. Let the Ulm and the Danube also be begun; and let the Donawerth and the Superbe be completed at Genoa. If the Donawerth could be finished, there would be six ships for the squadron at Toulon, and six for that at Cadiz, making in all twelve. Get the Tonnant finished at Rochefort, so that I may soon have seven ships; and get the Alcide completed at L'Orient, so that with the Veteran I shall have three. The seven ships at Brest must be put into fit condition for any sort of service, even to go to India. I desire, then, that in the month of September I may be enabled to dispose of and to dispatch on the most distant missions, at four-and-twenty hours' notice, seven ships from Brest, three from L'Orient, six from Cadiz, including L'Espagnol, and six from Toulon; total twenty-nine ships. The King of Holland will have seven ships ready for any expe-

English themselves would have gained by this; and it is now their interest to pursue the course which was at this period adopted by the Emperor.

Persia must become with respect to India, what Poland and Sweden were with respect to Europe before their destruction.

If instead of remaining in a hole like Osterode, where every one was under his eye, and where he could set his whole force in motion, the Emperor had established himself in a great town, it would have required three months to do what he effected in less than one.

dition. But not a moment must be lost. This is May, and you have not more than four or five months. These twenty-nine ships will not be useless for the war in which I am engaged. I beg you will make inquiries, and give me a note relative to an expedition to Persia. Four thousand infantry, ten thousand muskets, and fifty pieces of artillery, are wanted by the Emperor of Persia. When can they depart, and where can they land? They would form a point d'appui, would support twenty-four thousand cavalry which the Emperor has, and would oblige the Russians to make a considerable diversion. I will tell you, for your private information, that I am about to send on an extraordinary embassy my aide-de-camp, General Gardanne, together with some officers of artillery and engineers. A naval engineer, whose services may not be important in France, would be very useful in this embassy for the purpose of inspecting the ports.

"I have observed with pleasure the good condition of the little division which is at Bourdeaux. These four frigates seem to be fit for every kind of service. Is the frigate which is in the port of Passage to remain there for ever? When are the two frigates which are at Havre to proceed to Cherbourg? We should there have a division fit for any thing. Is the division at Saint-Malo in perfect readiness? This would give us ten disposable frigates. Two years ago we dispatched several frigates, one by one, for our islands. Could we do as much this year? You may, as far as I see, augment the division of Saint-Malo by the Avranches. I have not seen in all these naval returns any mention of the Thetis from Martinique. We must, however, if possible, send something to St. Domingo, and some brig or light vessel to Martinique.

"I pray that God may have you in his holy keeping.

(Signed) "NAPOLEON."

"Finkenstein, April 22, 1807."

CHAPTER V.

Siege of Dantzic—General Kalkreuth—The ambassador from the Shah of Persia arrives at Finkenstein—The enemy's army again takes the field—Bernadotte and Soult—The affair of Heelsberg—Murat's obstinacy in charging with his cavalry—The Emperor sends me to his assistance—I receive the command of the fusileers of the guard—Gallant conduct of these young troops.

As soon as the sun had resumed sufficient power to dry the ground, the Emperor encamped all the infantry in each army-corps. He then established his head-quarters at Finkenstein, where he remained until the renewal of the operations which closed the campaign.

It was during his halt at Finkenstein that he seriously commenced the siege of Dantzic. That garrison had not yet been blockaded on the tongue of land which separates the Frisch-Haff from the sea; and the governor-general, Manstein, had been succeeded by Marshal Kalkreuth. The town of Dantzic being exceedingly extensive, rendered considerable diggings necessary; and the siege was *long*, laborious, and scientific; but the details would be *too long to be* given here.

The attack was made by the Prussian artillery brought from Stettin, Custrin, and Breslau. It was found necessary to make a regular descent into the ditch, and to effect a breach. Matters had proceeded thus far, and the fine weather had set in which was likely to bring the armies again into the field, when, about the middle of May, the garrison proposed to evacuate with the honours of war, and to rejoin its army.

All things considered, the Emperor thought that, by protracting the siege, the season might perhaps advance too far to afford any hope of closing the campaign that year: while,

on the other hand, by uniting the besieging corps to his army, and marching without delay, it was probable that he might yet find the Russian army in its cantonments, where it was supposed to be in a very inefficient condition, as it had made no attempt to raise the siege. In that case, there was reason to hope that the result would be decisive, and would lead to peace.

He therefore ordered that the conditions proposed by M. Kalkreuth should be acceded to; and Marshal Lefevre, with his corps, entered Dantzic about the 14th or 15th of May. This town proved an immense resource to us: the administration of the army was established there, and preparations were made for the commencement of hostilities.

The Shah of Persia had sent an ambassador to the Emperor. He came from Constantinople to join our head-quarters at Finkenstein. The Emperor took him to Dantzic to show him a European army; and the grave Persian could not understand why, as we were enemies, we did not cut off the heads of all the inhabitants of the town. He was very curious about every thing he saw. He inquired how the soldiers could be made to march together with so much precision; and he was particularly fond of the military bands. He requested the Emperor to give him some of the musicians, as though they had been so many slaves.

The Emperor remained at Dantzic only as long as was necessary to inspect the garrison and the works of the siege: of the latter he entirely approved. He gave a farewell audience to the Persian ambassador, who set out on his return to Téhéran. General Gardanne, the governor of the Emperor's pages, was sent as our ambassador to Persia. He had been serving in this campaign as the Emperor's aide-de-camp, and he had expressed a wish to go to Persia. He set out accompanied by officers of every class. Peace was concluded while he was at Constantinople.

On the 5th of June, about seven or eight days after the

Emperor's arrival at Finkenstein, on his return from Dantzic, Marshal Ney was attacked at Guttstadt, where his head-quarters were established. He was very much in advance of the line of the army, and the enemy turned his left. He lost his park of ammunition; and it was not without considerable difficulty that he succeeded in getting back behind the Passarge, where, however, he maintained himself until the whole army was re-assembled.

On the recommencement of hostilities, the army was posted as follows:—

Bernadotte occupied the left behind the Passarge from the Frisch-Haff, having his right on the bridge of Spanden, where he had constructed a good bridge-head. On his right was Marshal Soult, whose head-quarters were at Mohrungen; his troops were on the Passarge, the bridge of which he had cut.

The Emperor was dissatisfied with the cutting of this bridge; and he said to us, "You see, Bernadotte did better. He kept his bridge, while Soult cut his, though he had greater reason than Bernadotte to preserve it. By this means he disabled himself from assisting Ney, whom the Russians probably would not have attacked, had they known that Soult had preserved a bridge across the Passarge, because, in that case, the corps which turned Ney would have been exposed to total destruction."

On the right of Soult was Marshal Ney, and on the right of the latter, Davout.

The rest were in the second line.

After the affair of Guttstadt, the Russians attempted also to force Marshal Bernadotte in his bridge-head of Spanden. They were repulsed, and the marshal was wounded by a ball which entered behind his ear. He was obliged to quit the army, and was succeeded by General Victor. The latter had just been exchanged for General Blucher, who, it will be recollected, was made prisoner at Lubeck.

The Russians committed the error of not retiring immediately, and thus afforded us time to come up.

Marshal Soult, who was on the left of Marshal Ney, marched on Guttstadt. The right, to which was attached the corps of Marshal Davout, also moved from Osterode on Guttstadt.

General Victor and Marshal Mortier, who were on the left and in the centre, marched before them, crossing the Passarge at Spanden.

The brigaded grenadiers, the guards, and the troops newly arrived from France, also marched from the neighbourhood of Finkenstein on Guttstadt. The cavalry did the same.

This movement was executed with incredible rapidity. On the 8th of June all was concentrated behind the Passarge, which was crossed on the 9th. We drove before us the enemy's light cavalry, and on the same evening we entered Guttstadt. Early on the morning of the 10th we began to descend the Alle, and towards evening the enemy's rear guard was driven on the bank of that river at Heelsberg. The chief portion of the enemy's army occupied the right bank, which is much higher than the left. All his artillery was posted there.

The Grand-duke of Berg persisted in charging with his cavalry. It had performed prodigies during the whole of the morning, but on arriving beneath the enemy's cannon it was so assailed that it was obliged to fall back. This it did in disorder; and it was pursued by some Russian squadrons, who threw it into complete disorder.

The Emperor, from the point on which he was making his observations, saw this ill-advised engagement; and to prevent a disaster, he dispatched to the grand-duke's assistance the brigade of the fusileers of the guard, with twelve pieces of cannon, under my command.

This brigade, having been but recently formed, was not yet

to be depended on. It consisted of two regiments of very fine young men.

Before I could reach the plain where the Grand-duke of Berg was manœuvring, I had to pass through a long marshy defile and a village. I did not commence my movement without some apprehension; for the road along which I had to pass was the only one by which our cavalry could retire, if driven back, before I could get clear out of it. However, there was no alternative; and I accordingly advanced as rapidly as possible, displaying the greatest front I could. All happened well; for hardly was I formed in the plain, at the distance of two hundred and fifty toises beyond the defile, having in front two battalions deployed, my two wings in a close column, and my last piece of cannon just placed in battery, than I was overwhelmed by the rout of our cavalry which was falling back pêle-mêle with the Russian cavalry. I had only time to open the fire of my whole front, which checked the Russian cavalry, and gave ours time to rally and form again.

The Russian cavalry was followed by infantry and cannon, which they placed in rough redoubts before Heelsberg, on the side where we were advancing. We were obliged to engage these. The firing of cannon and musketry was kept up briskly; and I should have come off badly, had not one of Marshal Soult's divisions commanded by General Saint-Hilaire on my right, and a division of Marshal Lannes* commanded by General Verdier on my left, added their fire to mine. As it was, I suffered considerably. I slept at two hundred toises in advance of the spot where I had fought; but I sustained a considerable loss. I had to regret the

* Marshal Lannes, after having re-established himself at Warsaw, came to rejoin the Emperor; and took the command of a corps formed of the troops returned from the siege of Dantzic, and of the brigaded grenadiers.

death of the general of brigade, Roussel; and several of my caissons of ammunition, among which was a howitzer, exploded during the action, and occasioned great mischief as we were in close order.

But for the intrepidity of Colonel Greiner, the commander of our artillery, who kept up a deadly fire, I should have been overwhelmed, sabred, and taken by the Russian cavalry, who were surrounding me, and dealing havock among our troops. The danger was the greater, as General Saint-Hilaire's division was in decided retreat.

I had a sharp altercation with the Grand-duke of Berg, who, in the very heat of the action, sent me an order to advance and attack. I gave rather an angry answer to the officer who brought this order, and asked him if he did not see what I was doing. The grand-duke, who always loved to command, wanted me to suspend my fire, at the moment when it was most brisk, and march forward: he would not be convinced that I should have been destroyed before I could arrive where he wanted me. For a quarter of an hour my artillery had been exchanging discharges of grape-shot with the Russians; and it was only the vivacity of the cannonade on my side which gave me the superiority.

Night came on very opportunely; and while the army was reposing, the Emperor sent for me. He was well-pleased with the first essay of my young corps; but he blamed me for not having paid more deference to the Grand-duke of Berg. In defending myself, I ventured to say that the grand-duke was a madcap, who would some day or other cause the loss of an important battle; and that it would be much better for us if he were less brave, and had a little more common sense. The Emperor cut me short, by observing that I was passionate; but he did not think the less of what had passed.

Next day, June 11, the Russians stopped all day in front of Heelsberg. Both parties removed their wounded; and we had as many as though we had fought a great battle. The

Emperor was very dissatisfied. Marshal Davout arrived, and he made him manœuvre on our left. This single movement made the Russians quit their position before Heelsberg. They recrossed the Alle, and on the night of the 11th they set out for Friedland.

On the 12th, the Emperor slept at Heelsberg: according to his custom, he went to inspect the position which the enemy had occupied the day before. He was exceedingly angry when he saw how imprudently our troops had been exposed to a fire of grape-shot from one bank of the river to the other.

At Heelsberg he learned from the burgomaster that the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia had been in that town two days before, and that they had departed before the army. Early on the morning of the 13th we set out for Preuss-Eylau, where the Emperor slept that night. Our cavalry could not furnish a precise account of the direction which the enemy had taken; and the Emperor, in his cabinet, gave orders for the march of our troops in three different directions: in one or the other of which the Russians must, of necessity, have sought to effect a passage, in order to gain the banks of the Pregel, and cover Konigsberg. He judged of the enemy's operations from what he himself would have done, had he been in his place.

Marshal Soult, with the Grand-duke of Berg, marched on Konigsberg, where the grand-duke affirmed that the enemy's army had retired. Davout's corps marched on the right of Soult's, and the Emperor kept the remainder of the army with him.

On the preceding afternoon, the Emperor had ordered a movement by the way of Friedland. General Oudinot, with the brigaded grenadiers, was at the head of the column under the command of Marshal Lannes. General Nansouty's division of cuirassiers was also attached to this column.

CHAPTER IV.

The Russian army crosses to the right bank of the river—The Emperor scarcely credits this imprudence—Our columns debouch—Skilful movement of General Dupont—The action becomes general—Battle of Friedland—The Russians are defeated.

AT daybreak on the 14th, General Oudinot's grenadiers were in front of Friedland, and the Russian army was on the other side of the river. The enemy finding only the division of grenadiers before him, conceived the project of attacking it with his superior force, never suspecting that it would be promptly supported. Accordingly, the Russians crossed the bridge, and furiously attacked Marshal Lannes, who had the command of Oudinot's and Verdier's divisions. The days were now at the longest; and in the latitude in which we were, there is, at this season of the year, scarcely any night.

The Emperor received notice of the attack almost immediately. He set out from Preuss-Eylau, pressing the march of the foot and horse guards, as well as of Marshals Ney and Mortier, and Bernadotte's corps which was commanded by General Victor. He soon arrived on the field of battle, where he found Marshal Lannes, who had just taken up a position at the entrance of the wood which bounds the circumference of the plain round Friedland. The marshal had from daybreak supported with a very inferior force a combat which had already cost him a considerable number of men.

The Emperor went himself to reconnoitre the Russian army. He did not believe that it would remain on this side of Friedland. He could not conceive its object, since its forces were inferior to those which might be opposed to it. The enemy's position appeared to him so extraordinary, that he dispatched on reconnoissances all the officers who were

about him. He ordered me to advance alone along the wood on our right, to seek a point whence the bridge of Friedland was visible; and after observing whether the Russians were crossing over to our bank or recrossing to the right, to return with the information to him.

This order was easily executed. I returned to inform the Emperor that the Russians instead of retiring, were, on the contrary, all crossing to our bank of the river, and that their masses were sensibly augmenting, and that in an hour they might be expected to be in readiness. "Well," said the Emperor, "I am ready now. I have an hour's advantage of them, and will give them battle since they wish it. This is the anniversary of Marengo, and to-day fortune is with me." He had formed his columns in the immense wood on the skirt of which Marshal Lannes was stationed. Only the artillery was on the great roads which ran through the wood. Fortunately for us there were three fine openings in the wood, wide enough to enable us to station in each a column of infantry, and one of cavalry or artillery.

Every thing had turned out as the Emperor expected. The troops were allowed to repose for half an hour; and in the meanwhile it was ascertained by the most minute examination, that the arms were in good condition, and that each soldier had an abundant supply of ammunition. This being settled, the Emperor, who was on the ground, ordered all to debouch at once. His directions were given as if for a manœuvre at a review; consequently there was no hesitation. There was a defile to be passed before we could come within musket-shot of the Russians. The Emperor had foreseen this difficulty, and each column was directed to cross the defile by a different passage, so that they all formed together on the other side. The chief portion of the cavalry was on our left.

The Emperor pressed the attack. Marshal Ney occupied the right on the field of battle. On his left, in echelon, was the corps of General Victor. On the left of the latter was

Marshal Mortier, who had a very small force; and on the left of Mortier was Marshal Lannes.

In second line, in the centre, was the guard; and in second line, on its left, was the brigade of fusileers, of which the Emperor made me resume the command for this action. At the commencement of the attack the army was generally in echelon, its right in advance, and gently refusing its left.

Marshal Ney commenced and engaged vigorously. His troops became impetuous, and wished, at the outset, to dash forward to the bridge of Friedland. The division which attempted this was so sharply repulsed, that it would have driven back the rest of the corps, had not a division of Marshal Victor's corps, commanded by General Dupont, very opportunely, and without any order from the marshal, changed its direction towards the right, and briskly charged all who were pursuing Ney's troops.

I heard the Emperor bestow marked praises on this movement of General Dupont, who, he said, had greatly contributed to the victory. Marshal Ney made his troops halt, formed them again, and renewed the attack so rapidly, that his accident was scarcely perceived.

General Dupont's movement was the signal for commencing the fire from one end of the line to the other; and here, as at Eylau, the discharge of artillery was terrific. Bernadotte's corps, which was commanded by General Victor, had assembled forty-eight pieces of cannon in one battery; and with this it received the Russian column, which advanced to attack it. The Russian general-in-chief soon discovered the error he had committed, when he found such a vast force where he expected to meet with only one division. He must have wished himself again on the other side of the river; but he could not attempt to recross, without risking the destruction of his whole army. The gauntlet was thrown down, and he determined to take it up with a good grace. We had already advanced so near him that he had only time to form in a

number of squares, which mutually flanked each other; and when once in this position, he deprived himself of the use of his artillery. He thus awaited the destruction which had now become inevitable. His masses were heaped together in front of Friedland; driven close upon the town, they formed the centre of a semicircle, of which we occupied almost the whole circumference. Not one of our cannon-balls missed its aim, and the Russian squares were demolished one after another. About six in the evening the Emperor assailed them with a fire of musketry. This was the finishing stroke. Their masses were so completely deranged, that nothing like order was observable in their dispositions; and an instinct, natural to man, impelled all who formed part of the wreck to seek safety by flying towards the bridge. They were however obliged to renounce the attempt, owing to the dreadful carnage caused by the firing of our artillery in that direction. They then threw themselves pêle-mêle into the river, without ascertaining whether it was fordable. Numbers were drowned;* but others discovered a ford in front of our left. Nothing could now check their flight; and they hurried towards the point of escape in utter disorder, like a flock of sheep.

The Russians had on their right twenty-two squadrons of cavalry which protected this retreat. We had upwards of forty, with which we ought to have charged them; but by an unexampled fatality these squadrons received no orders: they were not even mounted, and remained on foot during the whole of the battle, on a vast space of ground behind our left. On seeing this, I sincerely regretted the absence of the Grand-duke of Berg. Had he been there he would not have failed to employ these forty squadrons, and then assuredly not a single Russian would have escaped us.

* Those who know the accoutrements of the Russian soldiers will not be astonished at this.

Night drew in, and the firing ceased. Our army reposed in the position in which it had fought. The Emperor also passed this night in bivouac; and next morning at daybreak he was on his horse, inspecting the lines of his troops. The men were still sleeping, and had suffered immense fatigue. The Emperor would not allow any of them to be disturbed for the purpose of being drawn out under arms in honour of his arrival, as was customary. He next proceeded to the Russian field. Here a frightful spectacle presented itself. The order of the Russian squares could be traced by a line of heaps of slain; and the position of their artillery might be guessed by the dead horses. It might truly be said that sovereigns ought to have great interests of their subjects at stake to justify such dreadful sacrifices.

At Friedland we took a great deal of artillery, and four or five thousand prisoners, besides between fifteen and twenty thousand wounded who fell into our hands.

CHAPTER VII.

News of the taking of Konigsberg received by the Emperor—The author is appointed governor of that place—Resources of every kind—Great number of wounded returning to their corps—System and management of the hospitals—The Russians ask an armistice—Interview at Tilsit.

THE Russian army, which now consisted of only some battalions of the guards, took in all haste the road of the Niemen by Tilsit.*

* At this period the Russian guard consisted of:—

The regiment of Freologinski	4
The regiment of Semonwski	2
The regiment of Ismullowski	2
A battalion of chasseurs	1
The body-grenadiers	2
Total	11 battalions.

We lost no time in following it, and arrived on the same day, the 15th, at Vehlau on the Pregel. The Russians had burnt the bridge; but there was a good ford for the cavalry, and the infantry made a bridge with wood, of which there is abundance in this country. The Emperor remained at Vehlau all the 16th, to make the army defile. On the same day he received the news of the occupation of Konigsberg, which gave him great pleasure. He appointed me governor of that place, and also of Old Prussia. The only instructions he gave me were to prevent plundering, to take care of the hospitals, and to supply him abundantly with provisions and ammunition for the army marching on Tilsit.

I arrived at Konigsberg on the 17th. Marshal Soult had his head-quarters there, and his army was encamped before the walls of the town.

On examining the magazines, I was agreeably surprised at finding that they contained a stock of provisions sufficient to supply the whole of the grand army for at least four months. The possession of Konigsberg would have been of great advantage had it been necessary to continue the war. Our line of operations was established by that town, Braunsberg and Marienburg, or Marienwerder.

The Emperor was so provident, that I was no sooner installed in my government of Konigsberg than I began to

The regiments of Semonwski, Ismullowski, and the grenadiers of the body-guard, were engaged at Friedland, and consequently must have suffered; so that there could be but five really complete battalions, and a Russian battalion is only five hundred men strong. In cavalry there were:—

The cossacks of the body-guard	100
The horse-guard, five squadrons	500
The gentlemen-guards, five squadrons	500
The hussars of the body-guard	500
The grand-duke's regiment of hussars, ten squadrons	1000
Total	2600 men.

These troops formed the twenty-two squadrons which covered the retreat of the Russians after the battle of Friedland.

receive from the establishments we had on different points of the Vistula, entire columns of convalescent soldiers. These men, on leaving the hospitals where they had been cured of their wounds, were formed into marching battalions, and joined to conscripts from France, and placed under the direction of officers of different corps, who had also been in the hospitals. On their arrival at Konigsberg they were completely equipped, and incorporated into the corps to which they respectively belonged before they were wounded.

Some days not less than seven thousand men came in; and in the course of a month I received and forwarded to the different corps of the army more than fifty thousand men. This great number of convalescents, and the duty which I had to perform, drew my attention to a branch of military administration, of the great importance of which I was not before sufficiently aware. I was desirous of knowing the system followed in the hospital-service. I made inquiries, and obtained proofs that the solicitude of the Emperor for the wounded was not less deserving of admiration, than were his skilful combinations in the field of battle. The report, which was some months after addressed to him by the intendant-general, proves the attention he paid to all details which might have any influence in preserving the lives of the men. I shall here insert some passages of that remarkable document, because they will enable the reader to appreciate the justice of the reproach cast on the Emperor of indifference to the fate of the victims of war—a reproach very absurdly fabricated by writers who assuredly never knew any thing of war themselves.

FIRST PERIOD.

"After the affair of Saalfeld and the battle of Jena, the number of the wounded amounted to moret han five thousand. The rapid march of the army by difficult routes did not allow time for the hospital-magazines to follow the general move-

ment. There were then no other hospital resources to be had, except such as were to be found in the caissons of the divisions, and those which had been taken from the enemy, which were very insufficient. It was necessary to look to the country itself for resources. For this purpose requisitions were imposed, and hospitals were established on all the points suitable for the reception of sick and wounded; the principal were at Saalfeld, Jena, Erfurt, Schlitz, Weimar, Halle, Nieuburg, &c. Before the end of October, the hospital-line was established for the army, by Leipsic, Wittenburg, Potsdam, and Berlin: it was afterwards extended to Posen.

"In this last town measures were adopted for procuring resources for the campaign of Poland. His Majesty ordered shirts to be made out of the cloth of thirty thousand tents, which had just been taken at Berlin. This was a valuable prize at the moment. Four thousand five hundred and ninety-six mattresses, and six thousand five hundred and thirty-five coverlets, were furnished by the towns of Custrin, Stettin, Frankfort, and Glogau. This supply, which cost three hundred and sixteen thousand two hundred and twenty-five francs, forty-four centimes, was deducted from the war contribution; at the same time, the effects of the general magazine dispatched from Broberg were directed on Custrin. The commissariat of the army-corps and the war-commissaries of the divisions, supplied by requisitions the articles which were destroyed in the different engagements.

"The defeat of General Blucher and the taking of Lubeck occasioned great numbers of wounded, and fatigue had produced disease. Hospitals were opened at Hamburgh, Luneburg, Lubeck, &c. and supported at the expense of the country. In general, most of the hospital-expenses, until the arrival of the French army at Warsaw, were supported by the conquered towns. The military-chest furnished funds for the pay of the medical officers, and other persons employed, as well as for the purchase of light articles of food for the

sick, and for defraying other extra expenses in various establishments.

"By this means, in less than two months, an hospital-line of evacuation was established, from Jena, Hamburgh, and Lubeck, to Warsaw.

"Before the 1st of January, 1807, all the hospitals established in Wirtemburg and Bavaria were evacuated; and the patients were all dismissed, with the exception of two hundred, who were pronounced incurable, and were evacuated on Strasburg. The only hospital which was still kept up in that part was that of Braunau, which received the sick from the garrison.

"During this period, the mortality was in the proportion of fifty in the thousand patients, or twenty-one for ten thousand days."

SECOND PERIOD.

"This period was more painful for the hospital-service. The army was in a country where the communication were always difficult, either on account of the bad state of the roads, or the want of means of transport. But, after the affair of Pultusk, there were some thousands of sick and wounded in Poland, and it was necessary to establish hospitals for their reception. The situations for them were, however, not the most convenient; and effects, furniture, and utensils, were wanting.

"The officers and attendants were not in sufficient number; many were detained in the establishments formed in the rear of the army. Nevertheless, before the end of January, we had in Warsaw alone twenty-one hospitals, and more than ten thousand patients were accommodated in them. The furniture, and some provisions, were procured by requisition; but contracts were made for bread, wine, and medicaments. The patients were brought to these establishments in waggons, or on sledges; men who were slightly wounded travelled to

them on foot. In this way means were found to evacuate, in part, the establishments of the first line of Nasielzk and Pultusk.

"After the battle of Eylau it was necessary to make new efforts; we were remote from any great towns, where considerable resources might have been found. The hospitals which were established were crowded, because it was difficult to find means of evacuating them.

"The Emperor having required to be shown, by an exact census, the number wounded in the battle of Eylau and the preceding affairs, all the hospitals were inspected in one day. The result is stated in one of the annexed returns.

"We opened hospitals at Bromberg, Fuden, Schwedt, Nieuburg, Dirschau, Marienwerder, Marienburg, and Elbing.

"In some of these establishments the wine and light aliments were paid out of the hospital-funds. This was also the case with respect to the expenses for cleaning and medicaments.

"During this period the proportion of deaths was sixty-nine to the thousand patients, or at the rate of twenty-nine in ten thousand days."

THIRD PERIOD.

"In the beginning of May the state of things became more favourable. The taking of Dantzic on the 27th of May, and the subsequent occupation of Konigsberg, facilitated the arrival of provisions and the evacuated patients. These evacuations were made by the Frisch-Haff on Elbing and Dantzic, and afterwards on Bromberg by Marienburg, Mewe, Marienwerder, &c. The pressure occasioned by the crowded state of the Polish hospitals was in a great measure diminished: about three thousand patients had previously been evacuated on Breslau, where there were spacious barracks which served for hospitals. The country supplied furniture, provisions, and medicines; nothing was afterwards wanted but some French medical-officers to super-

intend the treatment. The greater part of these patients left the hospitals cured.

"Nevertheless, the number of patients daily increased until the month of June, 1807. On the 30th, there were twenty-seven thousand three hundred and seventy-six; and it was calculated that the number of establishments then occupied could accommodate more than fifty thousand; but the sudden peace, which was the consequence of the victory of Friedland, rendered it necessary to contract the line of the hospitals, in order to evacuate the country which was to be restored to the enemy.

"All the patients on the right bank of the Vistula were to be sent to Thorn and Bromberg before the 31st of July. The only exceptions made, was for the hospitals of Konigsberg, Elbing, Marienwerder, and Marienburg.

"On the 24th of July there were only four hundred and seventy patients at Konigsberg. From that date to the 25th of August, the admissions were six hundred and fourteen; the removals seven hundred and thirty four, and the deaths forty-two. There therefore remained at the latter date only three hundred and eight patients, who were nearly all dismissed cured.

"This hospital was formed on 20th November, 1807. In consequence of the measures adopted for evacuation, the hospitals of Thorn and Bromberg were in danger of being overcrowded; and it was necessary to prevent that inconvenience. An arrangement was made for removing the patients by the canal of the Netz; and they were evacuated on Custrin, Berlin, Spandau, Potsdam, and Magdeburg: more than twenty thousand patients were removed in this manner. The men belonging to the 3rd corps remained in Poland, and those of the 4th were distributed in the hospitals between the Oder and the Vistula.

"The hospitals of Elbing and Marienburg were maintained: the former was suppressed on the 28th of March,

1808, after the cure of all the patients; the latter still subsists, and is about to be evacuated.

"During this period, the number of deaths were in the proportion of ninety-five to the thousand patients, or of thirty-five in ten thousand days."

FOURTH PERIOD.

"In the month of December, 1807, the evacuation was completed: the patients did not leave the hospitals to join their corps until after they were cured. The line of the establishments extended from Elbing to Mentz, and embraced Poland, Saxony, Pomerania, Westphalia, Hanover, and the Hans Towns. Every establishment received its patients from the corps cantoned in the environs; so that the convalescents had but a short way to go when they returned to their regiments. In the month of September, French officers of health were substituted for the medical attendants belonging to the country, whom the necessity of the moment had rendered it necessary to employ.

"The hospitals were sufficiently supplied. The accounts and the registers were kept with as much care and accuracy as in France. The country defrayed nearly the whole of the expense, as before. The medical officers, the clerks, and the French servants, were the only persons paid out of the hospital-chest. In this respect the only exceptions were the hospitals of Leipsic and Weissenfels, in Saxony: a contract was made at the rate of one franc fifty centimes per day for the one, and of one franc sixty centimes for the other. Finally, in several establishments, and especially in those of Poland, wheaten bread, light aliments, some articles for dressings and medicines were purchased. These exceptions, however, ceased on the communication of the Emperor's decree of the 31st October, 1807, which directed that all the expenses of the hospitals should be defrayed by the countries in which they were established.

"From that period forward the hospital-service throughout the whole extent of the army was carried on at the expense of the towns.

"This principle was, however, modified with respect to the duchy of Warsaw. In pursuance of a convention concluded with the court of Saxony, the Emperor ordered all the expenses of the army in Poland to be defrayed out of the French military-chest; and even reimbursements to be made from the 17th September, 1807. The payments were directed to be made in Saxon bonds, and the reimbursements to be effected by a liquidation, of which the chief commissary of the 3rd corps had the direction.

"The sum of five hundred and seventy-five thousand francs, in Saxon bonds, was placed at the disposal of the commissary for the service of the hospitals in Poland; but no contractors for the hospitals were to be found, which occasioned considerable anxiety as to the future. To terminate the uncertainty, the minister of the duchy of Warsaw for the home department consented to an accommodation; in consequence of which the daily allowance for a soldier was made two francs thirty centimes per day, and for an officer three francs, payable in bonds, or subject to indemnification from the magazines established in Poland. This rate was very high; but the 3rd corps had left Poland, and there were then few patients in the hospital of the duchy.

"About the beginning of the spring of 1808, the number of the patients increased considerably, and several points were in danger of being overcrowded. Some new establishments were therefore opened, and those then existing were enlarged, so that all uneasiness in that respect was soon dissipated.

"However, there were in the hospitals a great number of persons whose infirm health or wounds rendered them unfit for service: they were incurring the risk of contracting new diseases.

"This was made the subject of a report addressed to his highness the vice-constable, who authorized the removal of these invalids to France, after they had passed two examina-

tions. The first examination took place in the hospital in which they were; the second, which was definitive, in one of the three central towns, Berlin, Hanover, and Frankfort on the Maine. The effect of this measure was to relieve the army from the burden of some hundreds of useless mouths.

"At Berlin, three hundred and ninety-six of these invalids were inspected, and thirty-nine at Hanover: out of this number seventy-four were finally discharged, and two hundred and sixty-one were sent in a state of convalescence to the depôts of their corps. No precise account has been received of the inspection which was to have taken place at Frankfort, because Marshal the Duke de Valmy caused it to be made at Mentz, and the return has been sent directly to the minister for the war department. The number there was certainly less than at Hanover.

"The stationary position of the army afforded reason to think that advantage might be taken of the fine season to establish hospitals near the mineral springs. Warbrunn in Silesia, and Rehburg in Hanover, were pointed out by the first physician as the most convenient places. Unfortunately, the different corps of the army could not forward their sick as promptly as was desirable; and the extent of the establishments did not allow of their being attended to all at once. It was, therefore, necessary to take the patients successively: more, however, than five hundred men, soldiers and officers, have had the benefit of the waters; and very salutary effects have been experienced by one-sixth of that number. The corps that have sent sick to the waters are the 3rd and 4th, and the grenadier division: the 5th and 6th have sent chiefly officers. The Prince of Ponte-Corvo's corps has sent only about thirty men; because, in consequence of the events which have occurred in Denmark, it has not been practicable to forward a greater number. The mineral-water hospitals were formed on the 1st of October.

"By the month of June, 1808, waggon-equipage for all the corps of the army was supplied in the most complete

manner; but the Emperor having decided that there should be attached to each regiment of infantry and cavalry of the grand army an ambulant caisson, containing surgical articles of the first necessity, measures were adopted for carrying that order into effect.

"The regiments which were not provided with caissons received funds to defray the expense of making them according to the model adopted by the war minister; and the linen for dressings, the lint, and the cases of surgical instruments for the caissons, were ordered from France. Sixty assortments of these supplies were sent and distributed to the 1st, 5th, and 6th corps, the grenadier division, and 22nd regiments of reserve cavalry.

"Fifty-six additional assortments sent from France have arrived at Berlin, and are destined for the different regiments of the army of the Rhine and the Hans Towns.

"No purchases of these articles have been made in the countries where the hospitals are established, because they would have cost much more money there; and besides, those brought from France are of better quality. This observation is particularly applicable to the linen for dressings, and the cases of surgical instruments.

"During the year 1808, attention was paid to the cleaning and repairing the articles in the general magazine, and those deposited there from the other establishments of the army; and pains were taken to complete the supply of lint and linen, in case the army should have to take the field. Four thousand pounds of lint and twelve thousand yards of linen were purchased at Berlin. Two thousand mattresses were made with the wool in the magazine; and the unserviceable linen articles were converted into bandages and compresses. Forty chests of prepared linen were got ready, and as many chests of articles of the first necessity in pharmacy. Finally, six thousand pairs of blankets were procured at one place. This acquisition completed a supply which was indispensable for the

war, and was in every respect advantageous, on account of the moderation of the price. They were purchased at the rate of sixteen francs seventy centimes the pair; while those from France, notwithstanding the difference in the quality, cost twenty francs.

"All these articles were packed up, and the magazine was ready to follow the movement of the army.

"Orders were given to send to the general magazine all the articles belonging to the French hospital-service in proportion as these articles became disposable, in consequence of the decrease of the number of patients. In the course of the month of March, the Emperor ordered the Peruvian bark seized by the Custom-house at Hamburgh to be deposited in the magazine. The quantity was three thousand four hundred and twenty pounds, according to the minute made on receiving it at Berlin on the 9th of April. Notwithstanding this valuable supply, the economy hitherto observed was not departed from. In order to husband the resources of the country, experiments were made to ascertain whether substitutes for the Peruvian bark might not be found in certain bitters, and in the bark of the horse-chesnut; but as the experiments were not sufficiently numerous, it was impossible to determine the efficacy of the medicines of which trial was made.

"The attention paid to the supply of every thing necessary did not occasion any neglect in other parts of the service. The registers of the age, birth-place, and other circumstances connected with the identity of the patients, were kept with the greatest regularity and care. The muster-rolls and journals were so drawn up, that the inquiries of families respecting deceased patients could be satisfied with the greatest ease. Finally, the regulations made by the minister who superintended the military administration, respecting the disposal of the effects left by the deceased, were punctually observed. The rigid execution of these regulations throughout the whole army was ascertained every month.

"During this period, the number of deaths was in the proportion of thirty-five to the thousand patients, or of thirteen in ten thousand days."

After these details, which may, perhaps, appear rather long, I leave it to the reader to judge whether the Emperor was a cold-hearted man, who fought battles for his own gratification, and cared nothing for the sufferings of his troops. Can any sovereign be named, who more deplored the price at which he purchased glory, or who ever gave greater proofs of paternal solicitude for the wounded? But facts, which no one can dispute, are the enthusiasm and devoted attachment which the soldiers at that period manifested towards his person, and the religious respect with which, at the moment I am writing, they all continue to regard his glorious memory. They never fail to say, that it was not he who caused the hardships they endured, but that to him alone they owed the consolations and benefits which they obtained.

The reader will pardon this digression. I now resume the thread of my narrative.

The losses of the army were repaired. It had magazines at Konigsberg, Dantzic, and along the Vistula; a navigable communication by the Frisch-Haff from Dantzic to Konigsberg, and a canal from Konigsberg to Tilsit. Abundant supplies of every kind could therefore be easily transported to that town.

Moreover, the enemy had constructed at Konigsberg a pontoon-equipage, which they intended to use for the passage of the Vistula. I found this equipage complete, with all its cordage and appurtenances, at Konigsberg. There was then no risk of our being impeded by the passage of the Niemen. Besides all this, there was no longer any Russian army, and at most only twenty or twenty-five thousand Prussians, including the reinforcement obtained by the junction of the garrison of Dantzic.

In addition to these advantages, the Emperor had the corps of Marshals Davout and Soult, which were not in the battle, and it was now only the 20th of June, with the enemy's army destroyed.

I ask every reasonable man, whether a sovereign loving war above all things, and cherishing an ambition dangerous to other states, could be placed in a situation more favourable to his wishes? Ought not, then, justice to be done to him who renounced all the advantages he possessed, and accepted the conditions proposed to him, though only a few months before those proposed by him were refused!

There is no doubt that in the situation in which he stood, the Emperor might have done whatever he pleased; and whatever might have been his projects, it would not have been necessary to spend any longer time than the autumn in Poland.

For example, had he passed the Niemen, which he could have done before the 24th of June, it is clear that he would have been on the Dwina in the beginning of July. There was no fear of a battle; for the enemy had no army to oppose to him. On arriving at Wilna, he might have proclaimed the independence of Poland; and there is no doubt that the proclamation would have been received with transport, as the Poles came to him before he reached Tilsit to ask whether they might not begin the work themselves. He thus would have deprived the Russian army at once of the means of recruiting and being remounted. It could afterwards only be recruited by Russians, and that under very difficult circumstances, for it would have been allowed no rest.

For arming the Poles the Emperor had all the Prussian arsenals, besides the supplies which he had obtained from other quarters, from France, for instance. Who then could have opposed the execution of this project, which must ultimately have been carried into effect had peace not been concluded?—Certainly, neither Russia nor Prussia. Would Austria? This was the only power interested in interfering.

We had a considerable army in Italy and Dalmatia; and before the Russian army could have been properly refitted, we should have had time to come down upon the Austrians, and make an end of the matter with them, while the Poles were clothing and exercising—a business which would have been as soon accomplished by them as by the Russians. We should, therefore, have been in readiness to take the field in the following season, if necessary.

The Emperor had given orders for assembling, in Dauphiny and its neighbourhood, the conscription which had been raised in the departments of the south. This force might have been sent to reinforce the army in Italy.

Yet, notwithstanding all these advantages, peace was concluded. It must be confessed that this measure encountered no opposition on the part of the Emperor, and that here at least he had no other project in view.

It is now time to speak of other events than those of war, and to give a faithful detail of all that happened from the Emperor's arrival at Tilsit until his departure for Paris.

At Tilsit there was a parley between our advance-guard and the Russian rear-guard. From the latter an officer was dispatched with a letter addressed to the general-in-chief of the French army to propose an armistice. It was known that the Emperor of Russia was on the other side of the Niemen, at a village not far distant. The Emperor was resolved not to be duped as he had already been. He was very willing to make peace; but if peace was not to be concluded, he would not agree to an armistice which could only have operated to his disadvantage. To afford opportunity for those observations, which are less easily conveyed by writing than by verbal communication, the Emperor sent Marshal Duroc as the bearer of his reply. The marshal was, I believe, received by Prince Labanow,* who had recently

* He is called in Russia, Labanow Rostoski.

joined the Russian army with some thousands of Basquirs, Calmucks and Cossacks, presenting altogether a force of ten thousand men. This produced no other effect than to convince us that we now beheld the *ne plus ultra* of the efforts of Russia in this campaign, especially as it was the first time she had thus had recourse to the services of her Asiatic subjects.

Prince Labanow, who had no power to treat for the object of Marshal Duroc's mission, referred the matter to the Emperor of Russia, who was commanding the army, and was near at hand. He proposed that Duroc should proceed to the Emperor's quarters. The marshal replied, that if the Emperor of Russia wished to enter upon any explanations on the object of his mission, he had no hesitation in complying, but, on the contrary, would eagerly embrace the opportunity of paying his respects to him. Duroc's answer was so satisfactory to Prince Labanow, that the marshal was soon introduced to the Emperor of Russia.

I believe that Duroc had *no authority to propose an interview*; but he at least had orders *not to decline one if* it should be offered; that is to say, his answer was merely to be that the matter had not been foreseen when he was dispatched, but that if such were the wish of the Emperor Alexander, he would return and communicate it to the Emperor, and bring back a reply. I am the more inclined to believe that this was the fact, because Marshal Duroc returned to Tilsit, and was sent back a second time to the Emperor of Russia; and it was after this second mission that preparations were made at Tilsit for the celebrated interview. What confirms me in this opinion is, that I saw in the hands of M. de Talleyrand, who had just arrived at Konigsberg, the letter in which the Emperor directed him to come to Tilsit, and which contained the following observations:—

"I have been asked for an interview. I am but indifferent about the matter, but I have granted it. However, if peace is not concluded in a fortnight, I cross the Niemen."

At the same time I received orders to prepare the bridge-equipage, which I found in the arsenal, so as to be able to send it off at a moment's notice. I mentioned this circumstance to M. de Talleyrand. "Do not hurry yourself," replied he. "Where is the utility of going beyond the Niemen? What are we to find behind that river? The Emperor must renounce his views respecting Poland. That country is good for nothing. We can only organize disorder there. We have now a favourable opportunity of making an end of this business, and we must not let it escape." At first I was at a loss to comprehend all this; and it was not until our diplomatist unfolded his projects with respect to Spain that I understood the hints he had thrown out. M. de Talleyrand set out that same evening for Tilsit; having first, however, dispatched a courier to Constantinople, to acquaint General Sebastiani with what was likely to happen.

The interview accordingly took place either one or two days after the return of Marshal Duroc. The Emperor, whose courtesy was manifest in all his actions, ordered a large raft to be floated in the middle of the river, upon which was constructed a room well covered in and elegantly decorated, having two doors on opposite sides, each of which opened into an anti-chamber. The work could not have been better executed in Paris. The roof was surmounted by two weather-cocks; one displaying the eagle of Russia, and the other the eagle of France. The two outer doors were also surmounted by the eagles of the two countries.

The raft was precisely in the middle of the river, with the two doors of the saloon facing the two opposite banks.

The two sovereigns appeared on the banks of the river, and embarked at the same moment. But the Emperor Napoleon having a good boat, manned by marines of the guard, arrived first on the raft, entered the room, and went to the opposite door which he opened, and then stationed himself on the edge of the raft to receive the Emperor Alexander, who had

not yet arrived, not having such good rowers as the Emperor Napoleon.

The two Emperors met in the most amicable way, at least to all appearance. They remained together for a considerable time, and then took leave of each other with as friendly an air as that with which they had met.

Next day the Emperor of Russia established himself at Tilsit with a battalion of his guard. Orders were given for evacuating that part of the town where he and his battalion were to be quartered; and though we were very much pressed for room, no encroachment on the space allotted to the Russians was thought of.

On the day the Emperor Alexander entered Tilsit, the whole army was under arms. The imperial guard was drawn out in two lines of three deep from the landing-place to the Emperor Napoleon's quarters, and from thence to the quarters of the Emperor of Russia. A salute of one hundred guns was fired the moment Alexander stepped ashore, on the spot where the Emperor Napoleon was waiting to receive him. The latter carried his attention to his visitor so far, as to send from his quarters the furniture for Alexander's bed-chamber.* Among the articles sent was a camp-bed belonging to the Emperor, which he presented to Alexander, who appeared much pleased with the gift.

This meeting, the first which history records of the same kind and of equal importance, attracted visitors to Tilsit from a hundred leagues round. M. de Talleyrand arrived, and after the observance of the usual ceremonies, business began to be discussed.

The Russian minister for foreign affairs was M. de Budberg, a man absolutely incapable of negotiating with M. de Talleyrand. Consequently, the questions under consideration were decided by the two sovereigns.

* Even cooks and other servants were sent; and nothing, however trifling, was neglected for Alexander's accommodation.

These imperial conferences lasted a fortnight. The mornings were allotted to business; after which the sovereigns dined together, and amused themselves during the rest of the day by manœuvring the troops of some of the army-corps in the vicinity of Tilsit.

The Emperor Alexander had to treat for Prussia rather than for himself. The Emperor Napoleon had various interests to arrange. In the first place Poland, that is to say, the part which he occupied, and which he had armed; next Turkey, which he had influenced to declare war against Russia.

Sweden had the misfortune to be governed by a prince who listened only to the counsels of passion and prejudice, and who could not be made to understand that if France fought with Russia it must turn to the advantage of Sweden, as well as of Poland and Turkey. He was at war with us, and all attempts proved unavailing to change his policy. On this occasion the King of Sweden evinced less sense than the Turks.

The latter had been unfortunate in their war. After being slowly roused from a long lethargy, they took the field as they used to do. But Europe was now changed; and the antagonists whom they had found formidable in preceding wars, had got still farther before them in the progress of improvement. The Porte saw, when too late, that extraordinary exertions were necessary. These she determined to make; but just as this resolution was about to be carried into effect, a revolution broke out in the seraglio. The Sultan was deposed and made prisoner by one of his own nephews, who had adopted every precaution necessary to ensure the success of his guilty enterprise.

CHAPTER VIII.

Revolution of the seraglio—Sultan Selim strangled—His successor shows himself not very favourably disposed towards France—The Emperor cannot account for the Turkish policy—He abandons the interests of the Osmanlis—The Greeks—General considerations on the views and policy of the Emperor—Mistake of France.

GENERAL SEBASTIANI, our ambassador at Constantinople, was surprised but not disconcerted by this unexpected revolution, and he began to think of hurling down the usurper. He found means to communicate with the deposed and imprisoned Sultan; and he had already succeeded in making the Turkish army march upon Constantinople, from which it was not far distant, when the usurper, alarmed at his impending fate, flew in a transport of fury to his captive uncle, and strangled him with his own hands. However, the Turkish army arrived, and justice was executed on the unnatural wretch. Another nephew succeeded the unfortunate Sultan.

I learned these events only in a summary way; but it is certain that the movement which the Turkish army was thus obliged to make was fatal to those provinces of that empire which are situated on the left bank of the Danube. They immediately fell into the power of Russia, and the Turks were unable to recover them.

This revolution in Constantinople reciprocally changed the policy of Europe towards Turkey, and that of Turkey towards the rest of Europe. It happened, unfortunately, that we were treating for peace at a moment when we had to stipulate for a sultan with whom we knew not on what footing or on what terms we were to stand. There was no time for ascertaining at once the intentions of the new Sultan, and settling with Russia the position in which we wished to place our-

selves. However, Turkey could not be considered as an indifferent object. We could not understand with what view the revolution of the seraligo had been undertaken. As the late Sultan was our friend and ally, it was suspected that his successor would favour the faction hostile to France. This appeared the more probable, as the new Sultan had caused Prince Sutzo to be beheaded, as being an agent of the French party. He had indeed informed our ambassador, that the Porte, to which he was then first dragoman, was treating for peace with England, which was the fact.

Amidst all these events, we concluded that whatever we might do at Constantinople, we should never be able to establish ourselves permanently there. The Russians actively maintained in the Turkish capital an influence which was the grand object of their attention; and since they had become possessed of the chief part of the coasts of the Black Sea, and the outlets of the rivers which fall into it after passing through the Russian states, their power had become too firmly established to admit of any counterpoise. The Greeks began to look forward to the moment when they should shake off the yoke which had so long oppressed them. The machinery of the Turkish government was deranged, and presented no fulcrum on which to fix the lever that might have consolidated it. We had lost the only prince with whom we could stipulate with any certainty.

In Europe it has been customary to consider the Turks less as a nation than as a great tribe, whom the Greeks, who have become their superiors, may one day or other drive back into Asia, if aided by a great power. We therefore preferred coming to an adjustment with Russia, independently of the Turks; and by that policy which justifies the actions of sovereigns, we availed ourselves of the circumstance of the Sultan's death to abandon the country. Whether we did right or wrong for our own interests, I do not pretend to decide

but it must certainly be confessed that we did not keep our faith, especially as we had led Turkey into the war.

There was another consideration which induced us to abandon the Turks. We were treating under the idea of retaining the chief part of our conquests: this was a resolution taken. We could not, therefore, reasonably require the Russians to surrender the Turkish provinces of which they had possession, unless the Porte was to recover them. Now if Russia already threatened to ruin the Turkish empire, what would become of it after the loss of its provinces? To support it, it would evidently have been necessary to employ our utmost exertions for carrying on the war, and consequently we could not afford to sacrifice any of the advantages we possessed:—in short, we must have relinquished the work in which we were engaged to have commenced another; that is to say, we must have set about the destruction of the Russian empire. This plan was proposed to the Emperor; but another idea occupied his mind. He wished to terminate the war, and to contract an alliance which his interests in Europe demanded. He thought this alliance might be formed with the Emperor, for whom he felt a prepossession.

If we retrace the line of policy which had down to this period been maintained between France and the Oriental powers, there is doubtless good reason to say that we committed a great error in abandoning the Turks at Tilsit. For my own part, with all the deference I cherished for the Emperor, I could not but think we had, in some measure, deviated from good faith. But on examining the matter minutely and without prejudice, it must be allowed that the Emperor was justifiable, if his intention was to assume a more advantageous position in the Levant, especially as he had foreseen what must infallibly happen in that part of the world, when he should be withdrawn from the scene of life, and the government of France placed under a minority.

In the course of his reign he had ordered many inquiries into the state of affairs in the east, all of which had been satisfactorily executed.

While the French revolution rivetted the attention of all the nations of Europe, and the old ideas were gradually giving place to the new with which other powers were successively obliged to compromise, the Turks continued in their lethargy, and at last stood at a still greater distance behind than that at which they were at the close of their last war with Russia and Austria.

The dismemberment of Poland and Sweden was particularly unfortunate for them. The resources of these two powers, formerly their allies, being transferred to the hands of their enemies, their fate became inevitable; and without being a profound politician, it was easy to perceive that Turkey would soon be nothing more than a dependency of Russia.

The powers who are interested in the preservation of Turkey have not paid sufficient attention to the different roads which the Russians have opened for themselves through that country. Every country in the world has been more or less accessible to the seductions of the cabinet of St. Petersburg, which will one day or other exact liberal payment for its exertions in the destruction of France. Russia laboured hard for the accomplishment of this object, because, by making it depend wholly on herself, she secured the fulfilment of her future projects. But she never ceased to pursue her policy in the Levant; and, during the last twenty-five years, more diamond rings, with cyphers of the Emperor of Russia, have been distributed in the Greek islands and in Georgia, than have been given in presents in all the courts of Europe.

The Greeks, who are naturally shrewd and devoted to commerce, are not slow in perceiving what is favourable for them. The measures adopted by the French government for giving

freedom to the Levant trade, will answer the purpose of the Greeks to the best of their wishes. They began to have a confident gleam of hope as soon as they were allowed to participate in the same commercial advantages as the natives of France and Italy.

The war having given the Mediterranean trade to the English, while they were at the same time excluded from the ports of Italy, the Greeks became their factors, and thus created for themselves a mercantile marine. They have now more than a thousand vessels of all descriptions, which supply the place of those which France formerly had in that sea under the name of caravan ships.

The business of the French establishments in the ports of the Levant has passed into the hands of the Greeks, who have become wealthy at the expense of France. With opulence has arisen a taste for luxury and science; but ambition is useless to the Greeks while the Turks admit them to no employment. They are not even allowed to carry arms. However, in science and in art they have made great progress, while the Turks have been dormant. The Greeks have now colleges in all the islands, and three universities at Smyrna, Chio, and Athens, where the youthful part of their population make remarkable progress in education. They are taught Latin, all the good authors in which language they translate: history, and in particular that of their own country: geography, mathematics, natural philosophy, and chemistry. They have excellent professors in all these branches of learning. Their taste is, however, restrained by the fear of drawing on themselves arbitrary impositions by the Turkish government. For the same reason, the advantages of their commerce are buried and concealed from observation.

We have here, then, a rich, industrious and enlightened people, who every day feel the weight of their servitude more sensibly than they did when they were unable to estimate it

by objects of comparison disadvantageous to themselves. In this situation Greece turns her eyes towards a deliverer,* and will second efforts which must be advantageous to herself.

Five-and-twenty years ago it would have been a difficult matter to fit out a sloop in Greece. Now the Greeks build vessels, have cooperage-works, rope-works, and sail-yards. Iron and copper are worked as well as at Marseilles. They have many manufactories; among others, a glass-work in the island of Chio, which will soon have more than one imitator. It is remarkable that all the establishments begin by adopting the same processes which foreign nations, after the experience of ages, have preferred.

A people like the Greeks, numerous, robust and sober, and possessing all the elements of a return to civilisation, cannot farther retrograde. Constantly impelled to social improvement by the recollections of their history, it is no very rash prognostic to assert, that they must necessarily again take a place among independent nations.† To accomplish this object, there needs nothing but to throw off the Turkish yoke. However, though the Greeks look with an eye of contempt on their masters, they fear them; and they have not confidence enough in their own strength to attempt, alone, the acquisition of their independence.

The Turkish empire will fall to pieces, in consequence of war, intrigue, or natural decay. This is an event which must soon arrive. The Greeks will then, if the preponderating power permit them, have merely to reconstitute their government. They would thus at once acquire a government formed of able and experienced men; a youthful population, well instructed; a navy and an army; and finally, industry and

* In all the houses of Greeks in good circumstances, there are portraits of the different members of the Imperial Russian family, and of all the generals.

† With the Greeks should be united the Armenians and the Jews; in the Ottoman empire these three classes equal the Turks.

wealth, which being sure of protection, would no longer be afraid to appear among them.

The effects of Greek emancipation on commercial operations in the Mediterranean will be immense. To the French trade in that sea it will be a death-blow. In vain do we seek to deceive ourselves respecting the approach of this revolution; it is marked and reserved for the reign of the Emperor Alexander.* He will not leave it to his successor to play the part of regenerator of Greece. Every thing is in a favourable train for hastening this event, which, like all others of equal importance, has its crisis; the missing of which renders future attempts abortive, or at least very difficult.

If this catastrophe come to pass, as in all human probability it will, there will then, it may be presumed, arise a wish to succour the Turks. But the time will have gone by. The Russians will be at the Dardanelles, before the ships destined to assist their opponents can arrive. *The only remaining chance would then depend on a war by land; but the powers capable of prosecuting such a war effectively, have not all the same interest in excluding the navy and commerce of the Russians from the Mediterranean.* The English, therefore, who are provident, have taken possession, by anticipation, of the Ionian islands; and we shall see them, in the event of the fall of Turkey, directing their views to Egypt, as the only point on which to maintain the exclusive sovereignty of Indian commerce, until such time as the dissemination of independent ideas shall wrest it from their grasp.

It was probably from viewing things under this aspect at Tilsit, that the Emperor came to the determination of affording the Turks no assistance; preferring rather to seize the means the war had placed within his reach, of profiting by an

* The reader must not forget that these Memoirs were written previously to the death of the Emperor Alexander.

inevitable catastrophe, than again to take up arms to terminate a difficulty, to which he might be able to give what direction he wished, by joining with the Russians, and interesting them in his political system.*

Austria had an army of observation in Galicia and Bohemia, that is to say, in our rear. Her ambassador, M. de Vincent, was, with the rest of the diplomatic corps, at Warsaw, and consequently unable to learn what was doing at Tilsit, from which all but the contracting parties were excluded. Austria, therefore, lost no time in dispatching General Stutterheim from Vienna; and he arrived at Tilsit during the conferences. The general took care so to order his route as to avoid Konigsberg, or doubtless I should have detained him. He was ostensibly charged with the compliments usual on such occasions; but I suspect the true motive of his mission was to do at Tilsit what M. de Vincent found it impossible to do at Warsaw.

M. de Stutterheim left Vienna after the battle of Friedland. Was his mission undertaken with the view of learning how that event had affected the Russians, of forming an estimate of their further resources, and of giving them on the part of his government assurances of friendly feeling? This supposition is not unsupported by probability, especially as he might also be charged with a mission of an inverse character;

* When the Russians are in possession of Constantinople, the predictions of the Emperor Napoleon will be recollected; and it will be better understood why he made war on Russia after she was detached from his alliance; why he allied himself with Austria; why he brought Spain into his system; and finally, of what importance is the occupation of Egypt, which he could always reach by the possession of Ancona and Corfu.

When this event shall occur, what will the merchants of France say, and what will become of their trade? France having no colonies, her trade must every where encounter foreign competition. It will be subject to various duties in foreign states before return cargoes can be brought back to the mother country; and importations will be effected at a cheaper rate by the shipping of other nations.

The blunder which has been committed will then be recognised. We must pay dear for the error into which we were drawn in 1814.

that is to say, in the event of the Russians being completely crushed, and Poland regenerated, the doing which depended on the Emperor. M. de Stutterheim might then be commissioned to negotiate, under these circumstances, an arrangement with France.

I am fully persuaded the Emperor's ministers considered the question under this twofold point of view, and that the result of their deliberation was to advise the prosecution of the war. But as his only object was to unite a power to his system, and to contract an alliance for France and himself, the Emperor conceived he had obtained that object, and gave up all idea of pursuing the other plan. In thus acting he cannot be suspected of bad faith. It appeared to him less difficult to bring about an alliance between Russia and France, than between France and Austria. The Prussian government had charged M. Haugwitz with a similar mission in 1805.

After the battle of Friedland, the resources of the Emperor Napoleon were immense. Russia had no longer an army; and the Emperor could by some marches beyond the Niemen, make himself master of the better part of the recruiting resources of Russia, as well as of the rest of Prussia. Poland might be regenerated, and her army organized before the Austrian forces could be brought into operation. Yet all these advantages were foregone, because the Emperor sought with good faith an alliance, in furtherance of which the conferences at Tilsit took place. The two powers sincerely wishing to approximate, considered only how they could agree; which was the great object of their desire, and not the seeking for new points of contest.

France required Russia to enter heartily into her quarrel against England, and to consent to the changes contemplated in Spain—which were to be the immediate removal of the reigning family to America, and the re-assembling of the Cortes for the purpose of altering the dynasty; or, in other

words, to recommence in an inverse direction the work of Lewis XIV.

Russia demanded Finland, and the Turkish provinces as far as the Danube; and required acquiescence in the local arrangements she should be obliged to adopt, such as the emancipation of the Servians, and, if possible, the separation of Hungary.

The revolution of the seraglio, which broke out at Constantinople against the Sultan Selim, and the sudden reconciliation of his successor with England, gave the Emperor Napoleon some degree of uneasiness, since he had no time to remodel his system of policy in that quarter. He could not but fear that the English might procure peace for the Turks, and that the Russian army in Moldavia might then be employed to repair the losses experienced at Friedland. Had this been the case, the Russians might have spun out the negotiations, so as to afford Austria an opportunity of undertaking something with the chance of success. The Emperor, therefore, chose to secure the fortune that presented itself, rather than to run fresh hazards. He treated without reference to the Turks; and leaving it to Russia to continue her operations against them, she, in return, engaging to leave it to France to do the same in Spain.

The Russians went straight-forward in their transactions with the Swedes and Turks; but the affairs of Spain having taken an unfortunate turn, the Emperor Napoleon foresaw the consequences, and demanded the interview of Erfurt to consolidate his policy with Russia. He came away with less satisfaction than he had hoped for; but yet not with the slightest idea of the war which took place in 1809. That event completely shook his confidence in the Tilsit alliance; and in demanding the Illyrian provinces in the month of October, 1809, he only sought a new route by which he might proceed to the assistance of the Turks, without complicating his policy by passing through foreign countries. He was now

bent on defending the Turks, finding that the Russians had already gained too much merely by the resistance which he experienced in Spain.

He was, however, still inclined to ally himself with that power; but he perceived that his work at Tilsit was all to do over again, for the only war which Russia could carry on against the English was a commercial one; but English commerce was protected pretty much in the same way as formerly. Sugar and coffee which came from Riga were sold at Mentz. Thus the inconveniences of the treaty of Tilsit alone remained without any of its advantages; and the Emperor determined on an alliance with Austria, with the resolution of resuming all the advantages he was entitled to claim from the battle of Friedland. After the marriage this was clearly perceived by Russia, or rather she was not suffered to entertain a doubt on the subject.

Had the war of 1812 proved fortunate, Illyria would, without doubt, have been detached from Austria. It was with that view the Emperor made it a separate government, in order that its cession might be the more readily negotiated.

But because France is not now on bad terms with Russia, is it to be believed that the latter will on that account refrain from the execution of enterprises she was bold enough to venture on heretofore? To think so, would be insanity. She may perhaps take a little more time to the work, but the result will be the same. Her trade is impelling her into the Mediterranean, and, in spite of herself, she must push on to the Dardanelles. Of this every Greek is convinced, and expects it. The Russians have only to give arms to a population which is always ready to throw off the yoke of the Turks. This the Russians well know.

CHAPTER IX.

The Emperor Napoleon yields to the solicitations of the Emperor Alexander—The Autocrat takes part of the spoils of his ally—The King and Queen of Prussia at *Tilsit*—Formation of the kingdom of Westphalia—M. de Nowo*silsow* warns the Emperor Alexander to remember the fate of his father.

THE Emperor of Russia was, on his part, obliged to make some sacrifices in our favour.

The French minister proposed, in the first instance, to erase Prussia from the number of powers; and it certainly was solely owing to the solicitations of the Emperor of Russia that she was preserved. The losses which Prussia sustained were enormous; but, as she had no compensations to offer for their restitution, she was obliged to submit to them.

The Emperor of Russia took from Prussia the district of Bailystock, on the banks of the Narew. We then, who were enemies, might expect not to be taxed with spoliation for the manner in which we divided the country; for if conquest be a right, we had acquired it.

The King of Prussia, and even the Queen, came to Tilsit,* to endeavour to avert the ruin which threatened them. They were received with distinction—with numerous demonstrations of respect; but they obtained nothing. Their protector, the Emperor of Russia, was obliged to think of himself, and could do nothing for them.

A small party which surrounded the Emperor Napoleon wished, from motives of ambition, to prevent the conclusion of peace. M. de Talleyrand perceived this, and therefore

* The Emperor, having learned that the Queen of Prussia was coming to see him (she had requested an interview), sent his carriages, horses, equerries, and guards, to attend her, and conduct her to Tilsit; and made her be escorted back again in the same manner.

brought the negotiation to a close as speedily as possible. One day, on leaving the Emperor's closet, he met in the adjoining room the Grand-duke of Berg, who, during the conferences, was very active in his endeavours to obtain some portions of territory which he thought suited him. M. de Talleyrand addressing him said, loud enough to be heard by all in the room, "My Lord, you have made war, but you will not prevent us from making peace." He said not a word more on the subject, but left the company; and the peace was signed two or three days after.

The Emperor of Russia recognised every thing of which his recognition was desired at Austerlitz; and had he agreed to the meeting then proposed to him, he would have spared the lives of many brave men, and saved many families from heavy calamity.

At Tilsit, Prussia ceded every acquisition made since the accession of Frederick II. to the throne, with the exception of Silesia; but she also lost *Magdeburg*.

Hesse, the duchy of Brunswick, and some other territories, formed the kingdom of Westphalia, which the Emperor of Russia recognised.

That part of Poland which had fallen to the share of Prussia, in consequence of the different partitions, was erected into the grand-duchy of Warsaw,* and placed under the dominion of Saxony.

The Emperor of Russia also recognised the possession of Hanover by France, and surrendered Corfu to us. In general he concurred with the Emperor Napoleon, not only in the changes consequent on the public treaty, but also as to others which the Emperor contemplated, and respecting which they had conferred together. I shall explain, as well as I can, the grounds on which I give this opinion.

* The Emperor gave liberty to the serfs, and abolished slavery in the duchy of Warsaw. This benefit, which will doubtless be extended to other parts of Poland, takes its date from the entrance of the Emperor into that country.

As Russia was still at war with the Porte, nothing more was stipulated than that we should employ our good offices to induce the Porte to make peace; and I believe—but of this I am not certain—that we consented to the cession of the provinces occupied by the Russians at the moment when the negotiations were opened, with the understanding that, if the Turks refused to treat, our intervention immediately ceased: this was what happened. The Turks were indignant at being abandoned in a quarrel, in which they only took a part on account of their alliance with us. I have explained how we were obliged to abandon them; and it is but just to add, that the new Sultan had endeavoured to anticipate us by making a peace with England, which would have afterwards obliged him to negotiate a peace with Russia. From that moment all idea of obtaining any thing from the Porte was necessarily renounced; and our ambassador, after enjoying the highest favour at Constantinople, was not easy until he obtained his recall.

Affairs being settled at Tilsit,* the two sovereigns took their departure with the appearance of mutual affection and esteem. The Emperor Napoleon accompanied the Emperor of Russia to the left bank of the Niemen, where the Russian guard was drawn up. There the Emperors embraced; and Napoleon took from his breast the cross of the Legion of Honour, and attached it to the button-hole of the grenadier on the right of the front rank of the Russian guard, saying, "You will remember that this is the day on which your master and I became friends."

* I have it from an eye-witness that M. de Nowosilsow, who belonged to the Russian chancery, and was much attached to the Emperor Alexander, said to that prince at Tilsit—"Sire, I must remind you of your father's fate;" and that the Emperor replied, "Good heaven! I know it—I see it; but what would you have me do against my destiny?" Are then the Russian nobles like the janissaries of Constantinople, with whom the alternative is to please them, or to die?

CHAPTER X.

The Emperor's return—Public joy in France—Fêtes and the opera of Trajan—Mission to St. Petersburg—The Emperor's instructions—My arrival at St. Petersburg—Exasperation against the French—Difficulty in obtaining lodgings—The Emperor Alexander.

AFTER the peace of Tilsit the Emperor returned to Konigsberg. He remained there only a short time; after which he set out for Paris, proceeding by the way of Dresden, where he stopped two days.

France was in ecstacy at the enjoyment of a peace, which was expected to be followed by a long series of years of happiness. The Emperor arrived at St. Cloud, with the rapidity of lightning, two days sooner than he was expected. He was well pleased with every thing he saw, and was convinced that the administration had neglected nothing during his long absence. Every thing was prosperous: the finances, the manufactures, and in general whatever had relation to public felicity, exhibited the aspect of improvement.

Deputations arrived from every part with congratulations and assurances of attachment. The Emperor was obliged to devote more than a fortnight to the receiving of these adulatory addresses. There was enough to intoxicate him, had he not before known how to appreciate such things at their just value. The public, however, rejoiced at his return, more especially as the advantages he had renounced for the sake of putting an end to the war were well known.

All over Paris there was nothing but rejoicing. A great deal of money had flowed into France from the contributions

levied in Prussia;* which, joined to the sums destined for the maintenance of the army, and which now remained in the

* *Account of the contributions of different kinds imposed on the conquered countries during the campaign.*

Received by the 31st October, 1808.

	francs.	cents.
Extraordinary war contributions	311,661,982	75
Ordinary impositions	76,676,960	66
Seized in treasury-chests	16,171,587	62
Sales	66,842,119	50
Total	471,352,650	53

To be received.

Kingdom of Westphalia.

	francs.	cents.	
War contributions	7,065,437	63	
Ordinary impositions	6,917,692	61	
Dantzic.			
War contributions	1,229,643	14	
Interest of bonds	2,446,369	16	
Country of Hanau	2428	58	
Bayreuth.			
War contributions	1628	53	
For the domains, according to the treaty of October 15	15,000,000	—	
For supplies to the army	2,000,000	—	
Swedish Pomerania.			
War contributions	1,728,559	97	
Hans Towns.			
War contributions	3,000,000	—	
Account, by estimate, of the value of property captured from the enemy, or supplied by the country, and not allowed for in the contributions:—			
Articles of subsistence	55,333,926	44	
Hospitals	18,177,957	50	
Clothing	7,636,950	43	
Horses	6,840,920	—	
			127,381,513 99

country, diffused throughout the mass of the population a degree of ease hitherto unknown. Public works were every where commenced. All classes of artisans were well employed: every industrious individual earned sufficient for a respectable maintenance, and found himself enabled to extend his enjoyments. New roads, canals, and various public establishments, were undertaken and carried on with remarkable order and regularity. It was indeed indispensable that the administration should be confided to able and upright hands, in order that no part of the immense machine which was put in motion might be impeded or deranged.

Among the public entertainments produced on this occasion, I must not omit to mention the opera of the Triumph of Trajan. The minister of police had had no opportunity of evincing his zeal by labours similar to those performed by the ministers of the interior, finance, &c. He could not gain credit for any share in promoting the public enthusiasm occasioned by the happy events which had led to the conclusion of peace; but, on the contrary, he had reason to fear a reprimand for having but indifferently discharged his duty on two occasions during the campaign. He therefore had recourse to flattery to soothe the displeasure with which he fancied himself threatened, but which in reality was far from the Emperor's thoughts. He accordingly brought out the opera of Trajan; but he never paid the author from whom I received these particulars. The subject of the piece was bor-

		francs.	cents.
	Brought forward .	127,381,513	99
Artillery.			
3000 pieces of timber at 75f. 225,000 fr.	francs. cents.		
Depôts of the mines, 812,706fr. 8c.	1,037,706 08		
Firewood at Berlin	1,373,935 49		
Porcelain	65,860 —		
Metals found in the Mint	16,256 —		
		2,493,757	57
	General total .	601,227,922	09

rowed from the incident relative to the Princess of Hatzfeld, which I have related in a former part of these Memoirs.

The opera was prodigiously attractive owing to the magnificent style in which it was got up, added to the graces and talents of the incomparable actresses who performed in it. The music, too, was exceedingly admired; but the flattery was too direct, and was therefore displeasing. It was managed with so little tact, that the Emperor could not endure the performance of the opera; and yet he several times heard it said that he had ordered its production. It was very usual for people to screen themselves behind his authority when they had not courage to brave public disapprobation.

The Emperor was not duped by this show of loyalty on the part of the minister: he had a certain readiness in distinguishing between what was natural and what was feigned. He became acquainted with a number of little intrigues which had taken place in Paris during his absence, and of which he ought to have been informed by the minister of police, who pretended to know nothing of them. Of these I shall presently speak; for it was while I was in office that the Emperor ascertained beyond all doubt the motives for which they had been concealed from him. From that moment he was convinced what pains had been taken to deceive him.

The Emperor no longer reposed confidence in M. Fouché; but he let him go on, and called him to no account. I shall presently relate what ensued, and well nigh ruined the minister of police for ever. But I must first render an account of what took place at St. Petersburg.

Before he quitted Konigsberg, the Emperor sent for me. He had just been inspecting the corps of Marshal Soult. After I had been with him some minutes, he said, "I have just concluded peace. I have been told that I have done wrong, and that I shall find myself deceived. But, truly, we have had war enough, and it is time that the world should enjoy repose. I wish to send you to St. Petersburg, until I

make choice of an ambassador. I will give you a letter to the Emperor Alexander, which will serve as your credentials. You will manage the business for me. Recollect that I do not wish to go to war with any power whatever. Let this principle be the guide of your conduct. I shall be much displeased if you do not avoid drawing me into fresh difficulties. See Talleyrand, who will inform you what is to be immediately done, and what has been arranged between the Emperor of Russia and me. I intend to let the army repose in the countries which I am yet to occupy, and to exact the remaining payment of the contributions. This is the only point on which difficulties may arise: but bear in mind that I will retract nothing. You must urge the departure of an ambassador. Contrive to make the choice fall on a man who will not be disposed to act the part which his predecessors have already played in France.

"After I receive your first communications, I will send you the secret treaty. In your conversation, carefully avoid any thing that may be offensive. For instance, never speak of war. Do not condemn any custom, or comment upon any absurdity. Every nation has its peculiarities; and it is too much the habit of the French to compare all customs with their own, and to set themselves up as models. This is a bad course, and, by rendering you obnoxious in society, it will prevent you from succeeding in any thing. Finally, if my alliance with Russia can be strengthened and rendered permanent, neglect nothing to attain this object. You know how I have been deceived by the Austrians and Prussians. I place confidence in the Emperor of Russia; and there exists nothing between the two nations to oppose a perfect intimacy of relationship. Use your best endeavours to bring it about."

This was all my mission: it was pacific, and contained nothing which denoted it to be the message of a conqueror. The Emperor departed that evening for Paris, and next

day I set out for St. Petersburg. We had begun to evacuate the banks of the Niemen, when I crossed that river, on the other side of which still remained the Asiatic militia, which Prince Labanow had brought as a reserve for the army of General Beningsen, who was returning from the battle of Friedland.

The Russian guards had departed some days before; and the Russian troops who remained as the safeguard of the Emperor, could not have opposed one of our army-corps.

I arrived at St. Petersburg on the 14th of July, about eleven in the morning. I was filled with admiration on finding myself in so fine a city after passing through a country, at the extremity of which I should have been less surprised to find a chaos. But it is not until you reach the gates of St. Petersburg that you are conscious of approaching a great capital.

On the preceding day I had sent forward the officers who were with me to engage suitable lodgings for me and the persons by whom I was accompanied. But what was my astonishment, on my arrival, to find that they had not even been able to procure accommodation for themselves. Public feeling ran so high against the French, that they would not receive us in any hotel; and I was on the point of adopting some extraordinary measures, when, by a lucky chance, I found in the proprietor of the Hotel de Londres a Frenchman, and a native of my own department. He waved all considerations, and took us in.

On the day of my arrival in St. Petersburg, I had the honour to be presented to the Emperor of Russia, and to deliver to him the letter of which I was the bearer. He was at a little country residence called Kamemostrow, which is a good league distant from the city, on the other side of the Neva.

I was far from expecting so gracious a reception as that which I experienced. This first interview consisted wholly

of affable conversation on the part of the Emperor: it lasted only a quarter of an hour, and it ended by his doing me the honour to invite me to dinner on the following day. On that occasion, being alone with the Emperor after dinner, he took me aside, and began to converse about business. I must in truth acknowledge that, after I took leave of him, I felt convinced that he would strictly fulfil all the conditions of his alliance with us: but he also adverted to his position with respect to the Turks in terms so clear, that I could not misunderstand the conclusion he meant to deduce.

He frequently repeated that the Emperor had told him he had entered into no engagements with the new Sultan, that the changes which had arisen in the world naturally altered the relations of the different states one with another. I saw perfectly well that this matter had been the subject of more than one conversation at Tilsit; but, as the Emperor Napoleon had never spoken to me about it, all I could do was to listen without replying. I was now convinced that Alexander would like nothing better than to be unable to make peace with the Porte, because in that case the result was obvious. I could not divest myself of the idea that some reciprocal confidence existed between the two Emperors respecting projects long since meditated; for I could not persuade myself that we had renounced the Turks, without some understanding on the part of Russia to allow us to make ourselves amends in some other way. I have even good reasons for believing that Spain came under discussion at Tilsit.

This was the only affair which seriously occupied the Emperor; and as he wished for peace, how could he have neglected the opportunity of mentioning to the only monarch who could prolong the war in a way to disturb us, a project which would infallibly have revived hostilities, had that monarch been inclined to oppose it. It was much more natural and reasonable to make a candid communication of the affair to Alexander, since he entertained, on his part, another design which

might be thwarted by France, if it had not previously obtained her concurrence.

What tends still more to confirm me in this opinion is, that at the commencement of the Spanish business (which I shall presently explain), stories of every kind were circulated in St. Petersburg, and the other towns of Russia, relative to what was going on in Madrid. The Emperor of Russia knew this: he dropped a few words to me on the subject; but the Emperor Napoleon, who wrote to me every week from Paris, said not a word about it. Now, as he heartily wished to strengthen his alliance with Russia, which might have suffered by his enterprise against Spain, he would scarcely have failed to give me instructions on this subject, had not the whole been previously agreed upon at Tilsit. But he said nothing to me about it, because he conceived that it was not necessary.

I passed six months at St. Petersburg; and the attentions which I received from the Emperor Alexander would have rendered it difficult for me to have maintained the gravity of the diplomatic character, if I had had any important affairs to treat: but fortunately my business was all of so agreeable a kind, that these six months might be called so many honeymoons. I had nothing but pleasant intelligence to communicate; and I was, properly speaking, the confidential medium of our interchange of compliments and presents of every description. I have not lost the recollection of those happy days when we were permitted to cherish the hope of enjoying happiness, purchased by a long series of fatigues and dangers.

The reception which I and the individuals who accompanied me met with in society, was precisely the reverse of that which we experienced from the kindness of the Emperor Alexander. During the first six weeks of my abode at St. Petersburg, I received no invitations from any one but the Emperor; and, except on the days when I had the honour to dine with him, the public promenade was my only amusement. Even when I was visiting the Emperor, I have seen

the nobility depart in the evening to attend assemblies or balls, while I returned quietly home to my desk. The Emperor of Russia observed this, and he wished it had been otherwise. However, in his presence I never showed that I felt mortified by this treatment, and I never spoke a word to him on the subject.

CHAPTER XI.

St. Petersburg—Fêtes at Petershoff—The princes of the house of Bourbon suddenly remove—Communications of the Emperor Alexander on this subject—Reply of the Emperor Napoleon—He proposes that the princes should take up their residence at Versailles—Mission of M. de Blacas—My biography—Allusions of the Empress.

WHEN I arrived in St. Petersburg, prayers were publicly said in the churches against the French, and in particular against the Emperor Napoleon. Being the first to go to Russia, I reaped all the ill-feeling that had been sown. While I was undergoing this rigorous quarantine, I employed my time in seeing every thing that was worthy of observation in this fine city; and in the course of my visits to the different churches, I myself heard the prayers abovementioned. The truth is, they had escaped the recollection of the Emperor of Russia, but he ordered them to be stopped immediately.

St. Petersburg is built with Italian elegance; and it displays that profusion of granite and marble which, according to historical accounts, was employed in the construction of ancient cities of which nothing but the names now exist. The Russian capital, at the period when I visited it, had neither a museum nor an academy of belles-lettres; but the germ of civilisation was every where visible, and in a short time Rus-

sia will perhaps make the rest of the world tremble. Her population is fresh and vigorous. They are not enervated by luxury; and every war which they wage towards the west brings them fresh stores of knowledge. It appears to me a great want of foresight on the part of the sovereigns of wealthy nations to open their barriers to a people who visit foreign countries only to take away, whilst they bring nothing but the scourge of a multitude eager to enjoy pleasures which have hitherto been unknown to them. The Russians have now learned their road: who will prevent them from travelling back again?

I had an opportunity of seeing the fêtes of Petershoff, which were very splendid. They resembled the fêtes which took place at St. Cloud when the Emperor resided there. I observed that the Russian citizens and artisans appear to be in more easy circumstances, and are dressed in a more expensive style, than the corresponding classes of people in France.

Petershoff was built in imitation of Marly, near St. Germains. There are a number of little pavilions detached from each other, each of which is sufficient to accommodate a small household. The Emperor Alexander gave me one of these pavilions during the time the fêtes of Petershoff lasted; and he condescended to show attention to me on those days when the attention of the public and the court was entirely devoted to him.

These entertainments regularly take place at the beginning of August, in celebration of the birth-day or festival-day of her Majesty the Empress-mother. This princess sets an example of piety and virtue to all Russia; she is the patroness of all charitable establishments, and her name is almost inseparably connected with acts of benevolence.

On my return from Petershoff to St. Petersburg, I learned that M. de Champagny had been made minister for foreign affairs, and that M. de Talleyrand had been raised to the dig-

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nity of Vice-grand Elector. A communication had also been received from the governor of Mattau, announcing that the princes of the house of Bourbon had quitted that place. They had embarked for Sweden. I knew nothing of their motives for so doing; but I recollect very well that the Emperor Alexander sent for me on the occasion, and said, "General, (thus he always addressed me,) I sent for you to show you what I have just received from the governor of Mattau." He then showed me the letter which he had had the goodness to get translated into French. "You will see," continued he, "that he informs me of the unexpected departure of the Count de Lille and his family. I have not been made acquainted with the circumstance in any other way; nor did I receive previously, or even at the moment of their departure, any intimation of this resolution, the motive of which I cannot guess. I wished to inform you of this, in order that you may transmit the intelligence to France, so that the Emperor may adopt whatever course he thinks advisable. You know that the movements of the Bourbon family have oftener than once been the forerunners of agitation in France, and I should be exceedingly sorry if the Emperor supposed I had the least participation in this business. It is not, I think, with regard to me that he should have the least reason to fear the Bourbon princes. I knew nothing of the Count de Lille, though he resided at Mittau. On my departure from Moravia in 1805, I could not pass through that town without paying him a visit..... I am convinced that the Bourbons can never re-ascend the throne, except by extraordinary events which human intelligence cannot foresee. They will end like the Stuarts."

I received this communication with all due respect; and, in obedience to the orders of Alexander, I transmitted it to the Emperor Napoleon.

The departure of the princes astonished me, and I knew not to what it could be assigned. From the reports circulated

in the saloons of St. Petersburg, I learned that this precipitate flight was attributed to some measures taken by me. It was even asserted that the royal family had received intimation that they were not secure against another attempt similar to that which had been made during their residence at Warsaw. To me all this was a mystery, which I felt very curious to unravel; and I seized the opportunity of one of my private interviews with the Emperor Alexander to bring about an explanation. I accordingly learned from the Emperor himself that a plot had actually been formed against the life of the Count de Lille while he resided at Warsaw. That his (the Emperor's) opinion had been long undecided on this subject, but that he was now convinced it was a base intrigue, in which a government like that of the Emperor Napoleon could never have any share. It was not until I was installed in office, in 1810, that I was enabled to investigate this affair. I then discovered that the circumstance had only been known in the police department through the noise made about it by the Prussian administration at Warsaw, who wished to give it a serious complexion. I learned that suspicion had fallen on a Sieur Galomboyer, who was a head-officer in the department of foreign affairs in France. He had at the period in question appeared at Warsaw, where he had held communication with persons in the King's household. On the discovery of the plot, he suddenly took his departure and returned to France, where he died shortly after his arrival without being re-employed.

I now saw that the alarm of the King was perfectly natural, when he understood that a minister who was in the Emperor's confidence had arrived at St. Petersburg.

I submit these details to the public, in order that persons who were contemporary with the events to which they refer may be enabled to judge of their accuracy.

I was still engaged in clearing up this business, when I

received the Emperor's reply to my dispatch. It was to the following effect:—

"General Savary, I have received your letter of ——. Thank the Emperor Alexander for the communication which he directed you to make to me. He is mistaken if he supposes that I attach the least importance to any thing that the Count de Lille can do. If he is tired of his residence in Russia, he may come to Versailles. I will make every necessary provision for him. I pray God, &c. &c."

I am very certain that this letter was among those which I consigned to my successor as documents belonging to the embassy. If preserved, it must be in the parcel endorsed September, or October, 1807. But I solemnly declare that the above is a correct copy of it, with the exception perhaps of some slight difference of expression in the concluding sentence. I left it in the packets of my correspondence; so that, in case of the recurrence of similar circumstances, my successor might dispense with the trouble of writing to Paris to ascertain the Emperor's intentions on the subject.

When the Emperor's letter reached me, the business to which it referred was already remote; and it was not alluded to in any subsequent conversations with Alexander. Another affair now engaged my attention. In fulfilment of the arrangements entered into at Tilsit, the Emperor Napoleon had converted Hesse, together with some additional territories, into the kingdom of Westphalia, on the throne of which he had placed his youngest brother, Prince Jerome. The marriage of this prince with the daughter of the King of Wirtemburg had just been concluded at Paris; and letters from the new-married couple were sent to me, to be transmitted to their aunt, the Empress-mother of Russia. I did not wish to make this a ministerial affair, especially as I had no official character, save that which the goodness of the Emperor Alexander conceded to me. I therefore delivered the two

letters to Alexander himself, without concealing the fact that the unfriendly sentiments which I knew the Empress-mother entertained towards France,* discouraged me from asking permission to present them myself.

The Emperor Alexander undertook to deliver the letters, and he set out for Paulowsky, where his mother resided. Accordingly, on the following day I received the Empress's answer, accompanied by a letter addressed to me by the Emperor Alexander, which was calculated to gratify the vanity of a prime minister. I forwarded the whole to Paris, endeavouring by all possible means to convince the Emperor that the arrangements made at Tilsit might be consolidated; and adding, that I had every reason to be satisfied with all I saw.

M. de Blacas was at this time at St. Petersburg as the envoy of the Count de Lille. He had arrived shortly after me. The business of which he came to treat could be of no interest to me. It was entirely of a domestic nature. I have no doubt whatever that if I had asked for his removal, if even I had hinted that it would be agreeable to me, my wish would have been immediately complied with. But so far was I from entertaining such a thought, that understanding M. de Blacas experienced some difficulty in settling some of the objects of his mission, I helped to smooth away the obstacles he encountered; not that I made these matters the subject of any official communication, but I adopted a course which was equally effectual.

M. de Blacas had, among other things, to apply for repairs in the fitting up of the apartments occupied by the Duchess d'Angouleme. This was understood to be the motive of his mission; whether it was real or pretended, I know not. The fact is, that either through the fear of giving umbrage

* I was informed that a few days before the Empress-mother had been heard to say—"I expect one of these days to hear that little Jerome has become my nephew." If it had been wished to play off an ill-natured trick upon her, nothing could have happened more opportunely.

to the French envoy, or owing to the few opportunities that occurred of addressing the Emperor Alexander on the subject, M. Blacas obtained nothing. As soon as I understood this, one of the first uses I made of the favour I enjoyed was to explain myself on the subject in categorical terms to the persons with whom M. de Blacas had to negotiate; adding, that were it not for the fear of giving offence to the Emperor Alexander, I would adopt measures for the execution of the repairs that were solicited, and would take the whole matter on my own responsibility, being well convinced that what I did would meet with the Emperor Napoleon's approbation. This soon reached the quarter where I wished it to be known; but M. de Blacas must surely have been ignorant of these facts.

As a relief from the dulness with which, during my stay at St. Petersburg, I was frequently oppressed, I one day visited a bookseller's shop. While I was searching for something which I did not find, I happened to cast my eye on several pamphlets printed in England against the French, and particularly against the Emperor. I purchased the whole collection, and returned home with my carriage completely filled. I read them all from beginning to end. They presented a tissue of falsehoods, the meaning and application of which I often could with difficulty guess, though I knew all the individuals alluded to. The task of perusing this trash, therefore, did not call for any great exercise of philosophy.

Yet from these contemptible productions, public opinion, on the subject of the French revolution, had been formed both in England and Russia; and our police minister had done nothing to refute falsehoods so extensively circulated. In one of these publications I found a biographical sketch of myself, accompanied by my portrait, physical and moral. Neither the one nor the other was a flattering likeness. It was stated that I was the son of the porter to a hotel; that having

committed some crime, I enlisted to escape the punishment of the law; and that I had a certain shrewdness, which I turned to some account during the disorders and sanguinary scenes of the revolution. A certificate of my birth would have been a sufficient refutation of these assertions, which, however, false as they were, obtained general credit.

My moral portrait was still worse; and, according to these luminous guides of public opinion, no hangman ever better deserved than I the epithets which they lavished on me.

Though in reality I felt annoyed at being exhibited in these colours to the eyes of foreigners, whose opinion might possibly in some degree re-act on that of my own countrymen, I adopted the only course which became me; I searched my conscience, which is always the best judge to which an honest man can appeal, and on this occasion it taught me to despise the unmerited accusations of which I was the object. It counselled well, for my heart has retained no resentment; and I never sought revenge, though I have had more than one opportunity of taking it.

I resolved then to smile at all these matters, and to take my share in the pleasantry which others wished to turn against me. A man who is conscious of his own integrity has always an advantage over impostors; and I came off successfully in all explanations. I recollect that dining one day with the Emperor of Russia, whose dinner-party was never less than twelve or fifteen, that the reigning Empress did me the honour to address herself to me, saying—"General, pray what country are you a native of?"—"Madam, I am from Champagne."—"But is your family French?"—"Yes, Madam, it also belongs to Champagne, to Sedan, the district in which the fine cloth is made."—"I thought you were a foreigner. I was told that you were a Swiss."—"Madam, I understand what your Majesty alludes to. I know that such a story has been published, for I have read it; but I beg of your Majesty not to form your opinion by publications of

that description." The Empress saw that I had discovered what was passing in her mind. By mere accident I had that very day read every thing relating to myself in the pamphlets of which I have spoken. The Empress of Russia probably wanted to ascertain how far their statements might be depended upon; and she had too sound an understanding not to perceive to which side justice was due.

Various trifling circumstances of this kind contributed to render the society of St. Petersburg less unfavourable to me; and I gradually succeeded, though not without difficulty, in getting thrown open to me the doors of houses, before which it had seemed, on my first arrival, necessary that I should open trenches; but as people are every where apt to run into extremes, and particularly in Russia, I had in the sequel as much trouble in avoiding the officious attentions of the higher circles, as in the first instance I had need of patience to enable me to endure their incivility.

I must here observe that the Russian ambassador repaired to Paris precisely at this period. I took care to recommend him, and the whole of his suite, to all the elegant and amiable ladies who then graced the capital of France. I did not omit one. At the moment of their arrival, Paris was uncommonly gay: They were invited every where; and most assuredly I met with no return of such politeness in Russia. But I wished to supply the embassy with introductions, because the tone of an ambassador's first dispatches is always affected by the impression made on him when he arrives, which very often depends upon the reception he experiences from the people as well as the sovereign.

My object was attained, and I was compensated for all the sulky airs I had met with by the conviction that I had secured the Russian legation against the risk of experiencing a similar reception in Paris.

CHAPTER XII.

The Turks refuse our mediation—General Guilleminot—The Emperor Alexander goes to inspect his army—Invitation from the Empress—Questions of that princess respecting Napoleon's taste for the drama—Surprise of Copenhagen—Indignation occasioned by that event in Russia.

THE Emperor Alexander had just received intelligence from Turkey. The Turks refused to make peace; but this requires explanation.

It had been agreed at Tilsit that France should interpose her good offices to bring about a peace between Russia and the Porte. In fulfilment of this article of the treaty, the Emperor Napoleon had sent General Guilleminot to the Turkish army to smooth down differences, having previously communicated his intention to General Sebastiani, his ambassador at Constantinople.

The Turks really wished to negotiate; but they became indignant on discovering that it was expected they should cede Wallachia and Moldavia to the Russians, and that we intended to abandon them in this dilemma. They had sense enough to perceive that we were settling our own affairs at their expense. They said reasonably enough, "We should have been no worse off, if, instead of being conquerors, the French had been beaten." They were right, and perhaps we ought not to have abandoned them at the risk of making another campaign.

They therefore declared that, unless the provinces they had lost were restored to them, they would not treat, and would renounce the intervention of France. They even went so far as to demand the restitution of a ship of war, which they had recently lost in the Archipelago, and which had been taken

in an engagement between the Russian squadron and theirs.

The Russians would willingly have made peace with the Turks. They wanted peace, but they were not reduced to the necessity of signing absurd conditions. I may even venture to say, that, if the point had been pressed upon them, they would not have incurred new risks for the sake of preserving the provinces in question.

In this state of things the Emperor Alexander sent for me, to inquire whether I could take upon me to write to General Guilleminot, requesting him to use his influence to induce the Turks to listen to reason, both on the subject of peace, and on the preliminary armistice which was necessary for negotiating it.

I wrote in precise terms, though this was decidedly going beyond my instructions. I was anxious to remove from the mind of the Emperor of Russia every doubt of the sincerity of those sentiments, assurances of which I was occasionally directed to renew to him. I presented my letter to him open, and he transmitted it to General Guilleminot. It however produced no effect. General Guilleminot was obliged to quit Turkey, without having succeeded in any of the objects of his mission, and the war continued.

The Emperor Alexander's attention was much engaged with the re-organization of his army on the frontiers of Poland. After the disasters of Friedland, he had ordered great levies in Russia of troops, horses, and provisions, all of which had arrived at the places where his army was posted. He set out from St. Petersburg to superintend personally the employment of these resources; and though the weather was very bad, he performed the journey with inconceivable rapidity.

I remained at St. Petersburg during his absence; and I was equally surprised and flattered to receive one day an invita-

tion to dine with the reigning Empress. Her sister, Princess Amelia of Baden, was present; as were likewise Count Romanzoff, the minister for foreign affairs, and Count Kotchoubey, the minister for the interior.

I mention these particulars, because during dinner her Majesty turned the conversation almost continually on France and Paris. It was difficult to speak of any thing relating to France with which she was not acquainted. She was familiar with our literature; and she conversed with me on the subject of our drama. She admired French tragedy, and was acquainted with the merits of all our good actors. She asked me whether the Emperor liked the drama.—"He is very fond of it, Madam, I replied, and particularly of tragedy."—"What are his favourite pieces?"—"He is a great admirer of the works of Corneille and Racine, Madam."—"Oh, I can easily imagine that; but he may have a choice even among those master-pieces."—"I have known him frequently to attend the performance of Mithridate."—"Does he never order Merope to be acted?"—"Pardon me, Madam."

I at first suspected that there was some ill-natured design in this question, and that the Empress intended to allude to Polyphonte. But I was not disconcerted. Perhaps, after all, my conjecture had no other foundation than the unfriendly sentiments which I knew were generally entertained towards us in Russia.

The Emperor Alexander returned from Poland very well satisfied with the state of his army. His losses were repaired; and he had ordered the movement of that portion of his army which he intended to direct upon Finland to attack that province, and finally to force Sweden to make peace.

It was the end of October when the first columns of the troops destined to act against the Swedes arrived at St. Petersburg to cross the Neva. The Emperor received them corps by corps. On these occasions he sometimes permitted

me to attend him, and I was astonished to see the troops in such good condition after so long a march.

It was just at this time that the English took possession of Copenhagen, and seized the Danish fleet. In Russia there was a general outcry against this aggression. The Danish minister at St. Petersburg made great exertions to obtain assistance from the Russians, who, however, could do nothing at that moment.

The Emperor Napoleon wrote to me from Paris on this subject. He told me that the event vexed him exceedingly; but that it was the result of the equivocal policy of Denmark, which, in the preceding campaign, had withdrawn all her troops from the islands to concentrate them in Holstein. They were still there on the appearance of the English, and consequently they could afford no aid to the capital. This measure had doubtless been adopted by the Danish government, through that same influence which operated against us in Spain; and, in the event of any misfortune befalling us, the Danes would not have failed to take the course most conformable to their interests.

Nevertheless, Russia felt the loss which Denmark had sustained. The Danish fleet was a good third of the guarantee of the neutrality of the Baltic. The Emperor Alexander declared through his minister to the English ambassador, that he would espouse the cause of Denmark, and that he could not view with indifference the aggression of which that power had been the victim.

The month of October passed over without any remarkable occurrence. The relations between Russia and France grew more and more intimate. The Emperor Alexander himself sought to counteract the unfavourable sentiments which were generally cherished towards us; and as far as depended on France, I spared no pains in seconding his endeavours to bring round the public to his way of thinking. Nothing

could equal the disrespectful tone in which young men in Russia presumed to speak with reference to their sovereign. I frequently had occasion to reprove this indecorous conduct; and for some time I was very apprehensive of the consequences of this licence in a country in which revolutions of the palace have been but too frequent. I accordingly kept a watchful eye on those who spoke most boldly, and whose object seemed to be to instigate the most criminal of enterprises. I took a retrospect of all the conspiracies that had been formed in Russia for a century past. Of these the last was so recent, that absurd stories relating to it were still the subject of conversation in several of those ill-disposed coteries with which St. Petersburg, like all great cities, has the misfortune to be afflicted.

When political circumstances arise which are above the sphere of their petty ideas, these coteries send forth a deluge of stupid jokes, false opinions, and assertions calculated to mislead the judgment of the well-disposed part of society, who are accustomed to follow the stream. These evil spirits are not certainly to be feared by a powerful government; but they fasten upon all its actions as rust sticks to metals and corrodes them. After a certain interval, one is astonished to observe the mischief that has been caused by these worms, who have been allowed to escape instead of being crushed at the proper time.

I had the courage to hear all that was told me relative to the death of the Emperor Paul. The different accounts of that tragical event made me acquainted with many personal details respecting celebrated men. It would be well if ambassadors could always collect information similar to that which I noted down in my memorandum-book.

Concerning the death of the Emperor Paul, I learned the following particulars from a Russian of high rank, a friend of the unfortunate sovereign. I give the narrative as I received it. I might mention the name of my informant, who, I be-

lieve, is now dead ; but the authority of his name would not give additional force to the truth in the eyes of his contemporary countrymen who may read these Memoirs.

CHAPTER XIII.

Conspiracy against the Emperor Paul—Count P....—General B....—The grand-duke—Assassination of Paul—Reported to have died of disease—Critical situation of the Emperor Alexander—Marshal Soult intercepts a plan of conspiracy—Its ramifications.

THE Emperor Paul ascended the throne late in life. While grand-duke, he had to endure the haughty airs of all his mother's favourites; and, moreover, he was often made the tool of court intrigues, by persons who, wishing to turn to account their pretended zeal for Catherine, attributed to him plans of rebellion to avenge the murder of Peter III. These disagreeable circumstances had embittered the feelings of his youth, and given his mind a disposition to jealousy and distrust, accompanied by a hostile feeling towards every one whom he suspected of having taken any part in the persecutions he had experienced.

When he became Emperor, he did not forget the resentments of the Grand-duke Paul, and was too much disposed to do justice on those of whom he had reason to complain. He therefore made many enemies, most of whom were powerful by the possession of wealth and honours—things which men are not easily forced to renounce. Suspicion and terror reigned around him. Instead of conciliating men's minds by moderation, he exasperated them by violence and severity. He thought to purchase the good-will of men by acts of liberality carried to the most excessive and thoughtless profusion; but

in vain. At one and the same time he was kind even to weakness; inhumanly severe, cruelly unjust, irresolute and variable to the verge of insanity. He went so far in his folly as to issue absurd ukases interdicting the use of round hats, pantaloons, and crops. The terrible punishment of the knout was inflicted for the transgression of such laws as these!

A system such as this necessarily destroyed every feeling of security for the future in all who conceived that they might have any thing to fear from his fickleness or his violence. These formed a numerous party; and they thenceforward felt the necessity of paying a vigilant attention to their safety. In Russia, as in every other country, there exists a small number, a knot of wealthy individuals, often of indifferent reputation, who obtain an ascendancy over public opinion, and turn its current for or against the sovereign according as they are satisfied or dissatisfied with him. Their areopagus judges him without appeal; and when once judgment is pronounced, they consider only how their decree is to be carried into execution. In this situation stood the Emperor Paul.

His subjects condemned him under pretexts the most frivolous; and the passions of men, never the best discriminators, being influenced, he was accused of all that was most unreasonable, as well as most criminal. The more furious were for hurling him at once from the throne; but considerable difficulties stood in the way of the attempt. Moscow was the theatre on which the design was concocted: for, far removed from the court, the secrecy which such an enterprise required could be there more easily preserved.

The plot had no chance of success without the participation of the military governor of St. Petersburg, who, besides being the chief magistrate of the citizens, is the general of the garrison and protector of the Emperor. In consequence of the vigilance which the duties of his office oblige him to

execute, he could not fail to detect the little preliminary intrigues by which it was necessary to begin such an enterprise. The conspirators, therefore, resolved to endeavour to gain over the military governor, and make him a party in their plot. This personage was the Count de P.... The Emperor Paul reposed the highest confidence in him; and had appointed him governor of the capital, for no other reason than that he regarded him as a man of incorruptible integrity and great attachment to his person. Now, this Count de P.... was one of the craftiest of men; and, as the sequel will show, of a duplicity of character similar to that usually attributed to the principal actors who figure in oriental revolutions. One of the conspirators, whose name I must be permitted to conceal, was commissioned to sound P....; and without mentioning any thing of the concerted scheme, to learn from him what complexion his sentiments bore regarding the Emperor, and every thing that was then the subject of general discontent. P.... unfolded his mind; and an exchange of confidence took place between him and the conspirator, who did not fail often to remind him, that the extreme confidence he at that moment enjoyed would not prevent his being sent to Siberia, as soon as a malicious enemy, which no placeman could hope to be without, should reach the ear of the Emperor; that such an occurrence depended entirely on the humour of a mistress; and that, in fine, with a man of the Emperor's character, nobody was safe. Count P.... acknowledged the full force of this reasoning, and clearly perceived that it was the precursor of something else. On the plot being disclosed to him, he engaged in it; was apprized of the members, and from that moment became their chief, because the success of the enterprise depended on him. But he first required a few days for reflection. He foresaw in the clearest manner that, should the scheme fail in its execution, the largest share of odium would fall to his lot, for he would be overwhelmed by the evidence of his accomplices; and, on the

other hand, that if it were successful, he should have reason to fear the resentment of the grand-duke, the heir to the throne; as also that of the Emperor's widow, who would set no bounds to her vengeance; and finally, that should the plot be discovered before the time fixed for its execution, it would be necessary to have the means of concealing the evidences of his treachery, that he might be safe from the reproaches of his master, the Emperor Paul. For these contingencies he set about preparing.

His situation gave him frequent opportunities of conversation with the Emperor; and he did not fail to observe that Paul was adopting the same vexatious line of conduct towards his son, which he had had so much reason to complain of himself when grand-duke. P. . . . took care to excite rather than allay the Emperor's irritation. He spoke in ambiguous terms of what he affected to have seen or heard, leaving the Emperor to understand that the boldest and most audacious of the discontented reckoned, no doubt, on the protection of his son, before they would dare to speak in the manner they did.

Such insinuations were not long of attaining their end. They engendered in the Emperor's heart a sullen distrust of his own children, who became to such a degree the objects of his suspicion, that he surrounded them with spies. This was just what P. . . . wished. The grand-duke, goaded by his father's suspicions, was reduced to the necessity of courting the friendship of P. . . ., who, he considered, might, by a single word, draw down upon him an access of his father's fury; a fury of which the consequences were not to be calculated.

The military governor, thus placed between the father and son, played a sure game. He gained the confidence of the grand-duke by lamenting the painful situation in which he would be placed, were he to be ordered to arrest him. He could not be certain, he professed, from one moment to another, that the order would not be given; and declared that he could

not conjecture what it was that excited the displeasure of the Emperor against his children, but that his Majesty was exasperated to the last extreme. Such duplicity was well calculated to impose on an inexperienced mind like that of the grand-duke; and he began to tremble for the fall that awaited him.

As soon as Count P.... had worked up the grand-duke's mind to the state of anxiety to which he wished to bring it before he ventured to make any communication, he determined to sound him by drawing a frightful picture of the condition to which his father's profusion had reduced the finances of the empire, and of the state of humiliation in which every Russian lived, by having constantly before his eyes the dread of being torn from his family, mutilated, and driven into exile for the rest of his days. He added, that the fury which dictated these measures menaced every one equally, from the highest to the lowest; that the grand-duke himself was in danger; and that he was now giving him a proof of his devotion and attachment to his person, by warning him to be on his guard, for that he might be one of the first victims. Such an address was well calculated to disturb a mind already filled with apprehension.

The grand-duke asked how he was to shield himself from the impending storm. P.... replied in a way calculated to increase the uneasiness his artifices had planted in the prince's breast, and promised, as a final proof of his fidelity, to give him notice in the event of his receiving any orders against him; but at the same time he took care to represent to the prince that if he adopted any course without previously informing him, such, for instance, as flying, he would thereby expose him to the resentment of the Emperor, who would never forgive such an evident act of disobedience. The governor therefore required the prince to pledge his word of honour to conform to whatever he should propose, if he received an order for his arrest. The grand-duke complied,

believing he had found a protector in the person of the military governor, while, on the contrary, the latter only made the prince the instrument of his perfidy.

Having brought things to this point, P...., with much address, succeeded in getting conveyed to the Emperor, by a circuitous route, some hints of the danger which menaced him. The result of this contrivance was what he wished. The Emperor sent for him, and communicating to him the information he had just received, expressed his astonishment that the governor had not discovered the treason, and warned him of it. P.... replied that he was not ignorant of the plot, but, on the contrary, that he had taken measures to suppress it. He then proceeded to mention some details which calmed the Emperor's apprehension, and satisfied him that he beheld in the military governor a man devoted to his service. He felt perfectly secure when Count P.... told him he expected a list of the names of the conspirators, which was promised him that very day. Though he knew, he continued, the parties, yet dared he not arrest them; because he had reason to suspect, and he felt himself forced to make the avowal to the Emperor, that his Majesty's children were no strangers to the plot. Of this, however, he did not mean to give a decided assurance; but, finally, he asked the Emperor what line of conduct he should, under such circumstances, adopt, to prevent the grand-duke from receiving information of the proceedings against him, and to deprive him of the means of escape.

The Emperor, enchanted by the appearance of so sincere a zeal, ordered the governor not to hesitate in such a case about arresting the prince; but P.... replied, that though his devoted loyalty knew no bounds, yet, as it might happen that the order would not be executed by him, and as some unfortunate accident might occur in the case of resistance on the part of the grand-duke, he wished that the Emperor would sign a

written order, so that the grand-duke, having no ground for objecting to its authenticity, might immediately obey.

The Emperor Paul thought the plan judicious, and signed the order, and delivered it to P.... The latter carried it straight to the grand-duke, and on showing it, observed that, in spite of all he could do or say, the fatal decree had been pronounced; that there was now no time for hesitating; that he, as military governor, might perhaps delay the execution of the order he held in his hands for a day or two, but that he could not avoid ultimately executing it, and that, from that moment, he would be obliged to set a watch on the prince, and that of this he had come to inform him.* He had, it may easily be supposed, a strong interest in shutting the prince up from all communication, lest he should enter into explanations with some person who might give him the wholesome advice of seeking an interview with his father.

As soon as P.... saw the prince overwhelmed with despondency, he hastened to assemble the principal conspirators, and with whom he arranged every thing, the day, the hour, and the officers of their acquaintance, who, he engaged to contrive, should that night be placed on the guard at the palace. Finally, he gave them the parole, and having settled their several destinations, returned to the grand-duke, and told him that he must hesitate no longer; that the whole of the city and garrison had declared in his favour, and it only remained for him to decide upon his own, as well as the general welfare; that there was no apprehension of any sanguinary proceeding, but that the people were determined upon transferring the power of the father into the hands of

* I am aware these are bold assertions, but they were the subject of general conversation at St. Petersburg during my stay there, and I merely detail them in the form they were reported to me. I ought, however, to add, that about the same time, and in the same country, I read of charges not less serious against the Emperor Napoleon, which had no foundation in truth.

the son, if he consented to grant a free pardon to the promoters of the revolution; that otherwise he, P...., could answer for nothing: for when once he had executed his father's order for his arrest, if, as was most likely, the Emperor Paul should fall a victim to the conspiracy, there was not much certainty of the grand-duke's being called to succeed him, unless all fear were removed as to the line of conduct he was disposed to pursue towards those who might place him on the throne.

An argument woven with such perfidy was too powerful for the inexperienced heart to which it was addressed, and not addressed until every other port of safety had been closed. In this predicament the grand-duke clung still to the man who was deceiving him, and promised to do whatever he wished, provided no injury happened to his father. This sanction obtained, P .... had yet another anxiety—to provide for the event of a failure, or even for that of a discovery before the plan could be carried into execution. We shall see, by the sequel, how he managed to cover his retreat. He went immediately to the conspirators, and on conferring with them, that very night was fixed on for the execution of their project. They assembled in the house of one of the party; and as soon as it was night, thirteen, or at most fourteen, clothed in their uniforms, and armed, issued forth to the scene of action. P .... had taken care to have that night on guard only officers completely devoted to himself. Being provided with the watch-word, the conspirators met with no obstruction in their passage through all the vestibules and apartments of St. Michael's palace, which was the scene of this event.

They advanced from apartment to apartment, until they came to the anti-room of the Emperor's bed-chamber. The only guard they found there was a single cossack, reposing on a mattrass.* On their approach he instantly started

up, and, with a piercing voice, called out "treason!" He was not suffered to repeat the cry, but fell, covered with wounds. The conspirators now rushed to the door of the bed-chamber, one of them carrying a light. Seven stopped at the first door of the apartment, the rest entered, and went straight to the bed, which they found empty. They now gave themselves up for lost, being persuaded that the Emperor had not slept there that night. Some, whose courage failed them at this juncture, would have fled; but the others detained them. At last one of the number, B...., feeling the bed, perceived it was yet warm. The fact appears to be, that the Emperor Paul, on hearing the cossack call out, either from fright or from not being well awake, lost all recollection, and squatted down, quite undressed, behind a glass screen, instead of slipping through the door, at the head of his bed, which opened into a small passage leading to the Empress's apartment, and by which he could have easily escaped. The conspirators were at a loss what to do; but B...., who went most coolly to work, set about searching the chamber, and soon discovered the Emperor. He called to his accomplices, and loading his miserable victim with scoffs and irony, dragged him by the arm into the middle of the room. All now joined in venting on him invectives and reproaches, and finished by requiring him to abdicate. This the Emperor refused, and in a moment his fate was decided.

The conspirators who had stopped at the outer door pressed forward to urge their companions to finish the business, assuring them they heard some bustle in the palace. At last one of them, who used to boast of the circumstance at table, when he had the command of the army in 1807, said, "Gentlemen, the wine is poured out, it is time to drink." At the same time he levelled a heavy blow at the head of the unfortunate monarch. The assassins then seized him by the throat, beat him until every part of his body bore marks of their ven-

geance, and finally strangled him with his own scarf. A blow had been inflicted above the eye, which left a marked wound.*

The bloody work over, the conspirators placed the body in the bed, and covered it up with the bed-clothes. The body of the cossack they removed from the palace, and each betook himself to his own home as quietly as if nothing had happened. On leaving the palace they met P . . . ., at the head of a battalion of the guards, coming to protect the Emperor, as he would have pretended had the plot failed, but finding that it had succeeded, he, of course, now came to assist the conspirators. He had still a third object, which was to secure the grand-duke against any attempt on his life.

The next day after this sanguinary catastrophe had scarcely dawned, before the whole city was apprized of what had happened. The report of the court was, that the Emperor had died of apoplexy; and all the ceremonies usually followed on such occasions were duly observed, as well with regard to the succession as to the last honours paid to the remains of a deceased sovereign.

The body was placed on a bed of state; and as the act of strangling had caused the blood to flow copiously from the wound over the eye, it was thought expedient, in order to prevent animadversions on the part of the spectators, to lay a coat of white paint over the face, so as to conceal the vestiges of the violence which had been committed. But nobody was deceived. The persons employed to wash, dress, and lay the

* A gentleman, whose authority is entitled to full credit, told me that the conspirators sent immediately for Doctor W . . . ., principal surgeon to the Emperor of Russia, and directed him to dress this wound, and to endeavour to give the features an apoplectic character. When he had finished his operation, W . . . . went to the grand-duke, and told him all was finished. "Has he abdicated?" demanded the grand-duke. "He would not," rejoined W . . . ., "he is dead." The truth then burst upon him; but he felt himself a that moment under the poniards, and feigned a total absence of suspicion.

body in the bed of state, and the servants who had discovered it in the morning on entering the room, furnished every information that could be desired. Besides, the inlaid-floor was stained with the cossack's blood; and it happens that we are always more circumstantially informed of what passes in the interior of royal palaces than in private houses, when any outrage is committed on public morals.

After the usual time of lying in state the public exhibition of the body closed, and it was interred with all the pomp due to the rank of the deceased.

The truth was not long of being discovered. The Grand-duke wished to sift the matter to the bottom, and the Empress-dowager would listen to no compromise. If the sword of justice did not immediately fall on the heads of all who were implicated in the crime, it was probably only from apprehension of the troubles which the influence of the conspirators might have excited in the empire. Nevertheless, the murderers, having become objects of public indignation, were banished from the court; and nearly all of them died on their estates, far from the capital.

While I listened to the recital of this event, as it fell from the mouths of such as had not lost all recollection of the Emperor Paul's bounty, I was struck at the facility with which the conspirators had planned and executed their enterprise, without a single circumstance occurring to thwart them, and without the slightest sensations of remorse invading any of their breasts. I shuddered to reflect, that the fate of a monarch, as well as that of a state, was at the mercy of a single officer, who might be elevated, often by the mere effect of chance, to an important post, and yet on whose fidelity all the interests of society must repose.

The more I reflected, the more I thought I perceived, from all I heard and all I saw, the first elements of a similar conspiracy. What helped to persuade me of this was the sudden arrival at St. Petersburg of an aide-de-camp of Mar-

shal Soult (M. de Saint Chamans), sent to me by the marshal from the banks of the Vistula, where his army-corps was still stationed. Soult had seized a recent correspondence, in which among many letters filled with enigmatic phrases, were some which from end to end were occupied with a similar subject. I recollect in one of these letters there occurred the following expressions: "Have you no more P . . . . s, Pl . . . . s, N . . . . s, B . . . . s, nor V . . . . s, among you?"* These letters were written from Prussia to individuals in Russia. Though at first they seemed to be rather the production of a heated imagination than proofs of the commencement of a criminal enterprise, I yet thought the circumstance of too grave a nature to allow me to take upon myself the responsibility of withholding the communication from the Emperor Alexander. I considered, too, that he had most probably received information on the subject from other quarters; and besides, I thought it right to seize this opportunity of proving my gratitude for the kindnesses he had done me.

I made the communication which I wished to reach the Emperor in what appeared to me the best way, by informing him of the arrival of M. de Saint Chamans. His Majesty was pleased to see in the communication only the sentiments which had prompted me to make it, and expressed to me his satisfaction on that account. I went so far as to warn him not to place too much trust on outward appearances, observing that there was great security in making it be believed that one was secure; for that assassins were generally cowards. He evinced however the most perfect indifference, and said to me, "I do not believe they dare," alluding to such as might have entertained the supposed idea; "I rely on the attachment of my subjects. If, however, they are determined, let them do it, I shall yield to them in no respect. But, we must not believe all that is said. In this country

* Murderers of the Emperor Paul.

the people talk a good deal, but they are not wicked for all that."

I felt relieved from a load of anxiety when I saw the dispatches Marshal Soult had sent me in the Emperor Alexander's hands. Though far from being better satisfied as to the spirit which prevailed, and of which I could myself judge, I did not venture to complain, because the Emperor did all that could be done with respect to it. Public opinion is not easily changed in a city like St. Petersburg; and patience was necessary to obtain the desired object. Violence would have spoiled every thing.

In the beginning of November, I had occasion to communicate to the Emperor Alexander several printed papers, containing expressions of the most virulent kind against him. These were recent productions, of the same description as those which had long been circulated in Paris against Napoleon. He took his measures so well that he soon discovered the person who secretly hawked them about, and learned through what channel they had been introduced into Russia. He was less offended at the insult offered to himself, than indignant at discovering that it was a Russian, attached to his household, who had given currency to the libels. He sent for him, and seriously reproved him; but let him go unpunished.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Emperor Alexander places himself in a state of hostility to England—The Duke of Vicenza is appointed ambassador to St. Petersburg—The Duke di Serra Capriola—Count de Meerfeld—Unfavourable sentiments entertained towards my successor—I endeavour to remove them—Count de Mestre—My farewell audience—Presents of the Emperor Alexander.

IN the beginning of November, a courier arrived from the Emperor, announcing to me his departure for Italy. The same courier brought me instructions from the minister for foreign affairs, to claim the execution of one of the articles of the secret treaty made at Tilsit.

The bearer of these instructions was M. Louis de Perigord; and he also brought a letter from the Emperor Napoleon to the Emperor Alexander. On the day of his arrival at St. Petersburg, I was engaged to dine with the Emperor Alexander; and in the evening, when his Majesty drew me aside and entered into conversation with me as usual, I took the opportunity of adverting to the business that had been communicated to me. I mentioned the arrival of M. Louis de Perigord; and I delivered the letter which he had brought for the Emperor, and which had no reference to the contents of mine. I asked leave to introduce M. Perigord next day at the parade, which was assented to.

The Emperor Alexander inquired whether I had received any communication, and what was the nature of it: "Sire," I replied, "I am directed to express to your Majesty the wish that you would unite your power with ours, in order to compel England to listen to us. She seems not to have accepted, or at least to have replied evasively to the overtures which have been made to her since the Emperor's return to Paris."—"Very well," he replied: "your Sovereign says not a word

of this to me. But it is sufficient; I have given him my promise, and I will keep my word. See Romanzoff, and come and speak to me about this to-morrow."

I did not fail. I was very glad that the Emperor had the night to consider of the business; and it also afforded me time to prepare answers to objections which, in such a case, were very likely to arise. Next day, after I had presented M. de Perigord, the Emperor himself was the first to speak on business. He began by telling me that it had been agreed that the two powers should unite together to make an application to England, and to offer her the mediation of Russia in negotiating for peace; and that he thought was the course that must be first adopted.

I replied, that this course had already been tried; that he knew England had declined his mediation; that no application could be made on our part, because we had been in a state of hostility; that he might, if he thought fit, commence by making a proposition, though I did not see how it would advance matters, since, if England had been disposed to treat, she would not have declined his mediation in so positive a way. He reflected for a moment, and said, "That is very true; and since such is the wish of France, I shall be happy to show my readiness in fulfilling my engagements. I will give orders to Romanzoff to day, and," he added, "they shall be brief."

Two days after this the note which the Russian government proposed sending to the English ambassador was submitted to my perusal. I had no observation to make upon it; and it was sent next day to the hotel of the English ambassador, who acknowledged the receipt of it, and demanded his passports.

There were at this time in the river of St. Petersburg, as well as in the port of Cronstadt, several hundred English merchantships, all laden and ready to sail for England. The principal object of France was to strike a blow at English commerce,

by exciting a war between England and Russia, though the latter power had no maritime resources of any importance. Time was afforded for the departure of the English merchantmen; but this I pretended not to observe, especially as the business was managed with delicacy. I was moderate in my demands, because the detention of those ships by the government would not have been popular at St. Petersburg; and if I had exacted rigid measures, I should have run the risk of breaking the string of the bow, which could only be stretched with great caution. The Russian government was thankful for the line of conduct I pursued.

The English ambassador set out for Sweden on his way to London.* The campaign against the Swedes in Finland had commenced; but as yet nothing interesting had occurred.

I sent to the Emperor Napoleon the communications which I received from the Russian minister, on the business to which I have just alluded. Not finding the Emperor in Paris, my courier set off to overtake him. However, he did not join him until he got to Venice.

* I ought to mention, that while I was in Russia, I became acquainted with the Duke di Serra Capriola, the Neapolitan ambassador, who was inconsolable for the misfortunes of the royal family of Naples. Whenever we conversed together, he begged that I would not mention them to him, or at least do so in a way to spare his feelings. I wished to ascertain from him how his court could have determined on joining the coalition of 1805, by which it could gain nothing, and might possibly lose every thing. He told me plainly, that, instead of voluntarily joining the coalition, the court of Naples had been forced into it; that he had vainly opposed the measure in Russia; that nothing had been gained by it, and that, in a word, it was from St. Petersburg that the Neapolitans had received orders to open their ports, and to march an army. He added, that they had been very poorly rewarded for this.

The Austrian ambassador, Count de Meerfeld, told me nearly the same story. We frequently conversed on military affairs; and I asked him whether the Austrians could assign a motive for the war of 1805, considering that they had been so exhausted by preceding wars. He replied, that the idea of the war had not originated with them; that, on the contrary, they would have avoided it as far as they could; and that they had finally determined on it only through the instigations of Russia. He added, significantly, "You will see, you will see, a few months hence."

About the end of November, I received an official dispatch informing me that I was to be superseded at St. Petersburg by M. de Caulaincourt, who was appointed ambassador. I immediately looked out for an hotel, in order that he might be provided with a suitable residence on his arrival. I had concluded a bargain for one, when the Emperor Alexander requested me to give up the lease which I had purchased, and put me into possession of a splendid residence on the grand quay of the Neva. He had purchased this house for the residence of the French embassy, in return for that which the Emperor Napoleon had given to the Russian ambassador in Paris. We were the gainers by this arrangement, the hotel given to us at St. Petersburg being infinitely superior to that which the Russian ambassador occupied in Paris.

The Emperor Alexander expressed his regret at my recall, in a manner which was exceedingly gratifying to me personally. For my own part I may say, that if I felt any satisfaction in quitting the court of St. Petersburg, it was because I had found it too seductive. Overwhelmed as I had been by the Emperor's favour, there was reason to fear that in circumstances in which it would have been necessary to assume the austerity of the diplomatic character, gratitude and attachment might have prevented me from so doing. I must, therefore, either have been placed in a painful situation, or have betrayed my duty to follow a very natural inclination. The Emperor himself would not have respected me; and the business with which I was entrusted would not have been settled.

It is proper to mention here that the prevailing feeling of society in St. Petersburg was decidedly unfavourable to M. de Caulaincourt; and I soon perceived that this circumstance was calculated to throw difficulties in the way of the business which I was about to consign to his management, and which had hitherto proceeded satisfactorily. In my endeavours to

discover whence this unfriendly feeling originated, I found that it had its source in the part which M. de Caulaincourt was supposed to have acted in the affair of the Duke d'Enghien. The change of public sentiment in my favour had given me sufficient influence in Russia to enable me to be serviceable to my successor, to whom I was attached by the bonds of friendship, independently of our reciprocal political connexion. I was the more ready to serve my colleague, because I was at the same time rendering a service to my country, by smoothing away difficulties which would sooner or later have operated injuriously to her interests.

M. de Caulaincourt was so freely spoken of at St. Petersburg, that I easily found an opportunity of undertaking his defence. I did this for the sake of the Emperor Alexander himself; who, though he had not spoken to me on the subject, could not be ignorant of what was whispered about; and I was anxious that his reception of the French ambassador should be free from all unfavourable prepossession.

There were in St. Petersburg several little circles, through the medium of which every subject of conversation was rapidly propagated to the rest of society. I thought I could not do better than avail myself of these channels for the execution of my project. I accordingly went to visit M. de Laval,* who resided on the English quay, and at whose house I expected to find several Russians, as well as the Duke di Serra Capriola, the Neapolitan ambassador, and Count di Mestre, ambassador from the King of Sardinia. It, however, happened, that I met only the latter; and he, M. de Laval, and myself, entered into conversation on the affairs of the day. On my requesting that they would give my successor a friendly welcome, they remained mute. I was prepared for this, and immediately entered upon the explanation I wished. The circumstance is still fresh in my memory. I was at that

* A French emigrant, married to a Russian lady.

time ignorant of the mistake which brought about the unfortunate fate of the Duke d'Enghien, which did not come to my knowledge till the year 1812. I knew, indeed, all that had been published respecting the catastrophe in the pamphlets of the time, and in which M. de Caulaincourt had not been spared any more than I had. It was easy to clear him of the part he was said to have acted, in a scene in which he could have had no participation, since he did not arrive in Paris until the day after its conclusion. I could prove the falsehood of these imputations the more decidedly, because I, who had been at Vincennes, as I have stated in the course of these memoirs, did not see him there, and here I could refute the injustice of his accusers. I knew only what he himself had told me of his mission to Strasburg, and that communication formed the whole strength of my argument in his favour. But I was far from wishing to go beyond the interest which friendship warranted. I have since spoken to him on the subject, and I appealed to his own honour to say whether I could have had any other object than to remove the unfavourable impressions which existed on his arrival, and to transfer to him the advantages which I had acquired. I made M. de Caulaincourt fully acquainted with all these particulars, during the twelve days I passed with him at St. Petersburg. If it be true that, after my departure, he was told that I had been heard to say, in a company of thirty people, *that he, M. de Caulaincourt, had nothing to do with the business, and that I alone was concerned in it*, it was in his power to defend me.* This would have been more easy to him than the same task was to me, when I undertook it in his behalf; and I was entitled to expect a return of my good offices. I gave him an additional proof of my friendship in April, 1813, when I arrested young Ordener, who, in his

* I give the words as they were reported to me by M. de Caulaincourt himself, in May or June, 1815, at the Elysée in Paris.

indignation at the insult committed upon his father's ashes, intended to publish some documents which had fallen into his possession on his parent's decease. I ask, what effect that publication would have produced on the day after the journals gave insertion to that justification of M. de Caulaincourt, which turned popular opinion against him, when compared with the letter which he wrote to the Emperor Alexander on the subject, at the very time he was the Emperor Napoleon's *minister* at the court of Russia.

M. de Caulaincourt arrived at St. Petersburg about the 10th or 15th of November, 1807. I transferred to his management the work which I had begun; and I spent some time with him, in order to furnish him with the explanations of which he stood in need. I then begged to have my farewell audience, at which the Emperor treated me in a way that might almost be called friendly. His festival day was the 25th of December, and I expressed a wish to be present at it. The Emperor invited me to dinner on the following day, and having taken me into his cabinet, he afforded me an opportunity of expressing my gratitude for the many marks of favour he had conferred on me. He conversed with me for some time on the political affairs of which I had treated with him: he again expressed his regret at my departure; and, having embraced me, bade me farewell. To all this kindness he added some valuable memorials of his generosity. Besides the usual present, which consisted of a diamond snuff-box of considerable value, he gave me a collar of amethysts, with various accessary ornaments, which was the most beautiful piece of workmanship the crown-jeweller could produce. To these presents were added two pelisses; one of sable, which was afterwards the admiration of the ladies of Paris; and the other of black bear skin, of equal beauty. I thus departed from Russia, loaded with favours, and with the satisfaction of finding that general esteem had succeeded

to those unfriendly prepossessions, of which I had been the object on my first arrival.

I travelled by the way of Wilna, Warsaw, and Silesia. In obedience to the Emperor Alexander's orders, I was accompanied as far as Warsaw by two feld-jägers (cabinet couriers), so that I experienced no difficulty at the posts. On my way through Silesia, I met the head of the columns of the Russian prisoners, who were returning home from France. They had been armed and clothed in the Russian uniform, by order of the Emperor Napoleon. This complimentary conduct had been duly appreciated in Russia, where it was known before my departure. I arrived in Paris on the 16th of January, where I had the pleasure to receive additional marks of the Emperor's satisfaction. This was the more gratifying to me, because it was contrary to his custom; though he did not, on that account, attach the less value to services performed.

He questioned me concerning all I had remarked in Russia; and frequently asked me whether I had departed with the conviction that he might come to any solid arrangement in that country. I replied in the affirmative, for such was my opinion; and I have frequently regretted the derangement of affairs, which might, by proper management, have been kept in good train. There was nothing which the Emperor would not have preferred to the renewal of war on the other side of the Vistula. In the arrangements of the Russian embassy, nothing had been neglected that could contribute to the result that was expected from it. No expense had been spared; and no details, however trifling, had been neglected. The whole was on a scale of splendour.

It will be seen, in the course of these Memoirs, how the expectations which the Emperor had formed from this alliance were gradually disappointed, and were, at length, followed by the catastrophe, which overthrew the hopes and

future happiness of so many families, worthy of public respect.

CHAPTER XV.

Expedition to Portugal—Junot—His army—Entrance into Lisbon—Provident measures adopted by the Regent—Our troops approach Spain—Political considerations—Talleyrand—Part taken by that diplomatist in the Peninsular enterprise—Extraordinary attempt of Fouché.

THE Emperor Napoleon had passed the autumnal hunting season at Fontainebleau: there he gave the first audience to the Russian ambassador, General Count Tolstoi, brother of the Emperor Alexander's grand chamberlain. I will now describe what took place during the time the Count remained at Fontainebleau.

Upon the refusal of England to accept the mediation of Russia, in negotiating peace with France, the Emperor had required Portugal to take a decided course; and threatened to march a French army against her if she persisted in her alliance with England. The Prince Regent of Portugal hesitated, and replied evasively to the urgent propositions simultaneously made to him at Lisbon, and through the medium of his ambassador in Paris, the Count de Lima.

It is proper here to observe, that the Prince Regent of Portugal was one of the first sovereigns who sought an alliance with France; and yet, so far back as the time of the Consulate, we had found it necessary to employ a combined French and Spanish force to compel him to join us in the alliance against England. This work was now to be recommenced. The Portuguese Ambassador in France, guessing what was about to happen, thought he could avert the storm by going himself to Lisbon, to represent to his government,

the danger of invasion with which Portugal was threatened. He set out from Fontainebleau, and travelled post to his sovereign; but it was too late. All arrangement had become impossible. The Prince had no other alternative than to embark with his fleet for Brazil, thus abandoning his European states to any fate that might be reserved for them. He departed before the arrival of the corps of troops who were marching upon the Portuguese frontier. This corps was commanded by General Junot, who had been governor of Paris during the Emperor's long absence. The troops composing it were draughted from the third battalion and the dépôt squadrons of several regiments of the grand army.

General Junot penetrated into the Portuguese territory and took possession of the fortified places, without meeting with any other resistance than that which the torrents and precipices he was obliged to pass presented to him. He finally succeeded in surmounting all these obstacles. His perseverance triumphed over hunger and fatigue; and he entered Lisbon without encountering any opposition on the part of the government. During his march, indeed, far from resisting Junot, the Prince Regent took pains to smooth the difficulties which were in his way. He informed his subjects that defence was useless; that he was about to absent himself, and to allow the storm to roll on; that he would return when the tempest had passed away; and that, in the mean time, he had constituted a government which would be especially charged with the duty of procuring good accommodation for the French troops, of providing for their wants, and of preventing any insult being offered to them. Nothing could

* "After having in vain made every effort to maintain neutrality, for the benefit of our beloved and faithful vassals; after having, for the attainment of that object, sacrificed all my treasures, and having, even to the great prejudice of my subjects, gone so far as to shut my ports against my ancient and faithful ally the King of Great Britain; I see the troops of his Majesty the Emperor of the French advancing into the heart of my dominions. His territory not being contiguous to

be done with a better grace, or better calculated to meet our wishes. One thing only the Prince had forgotten, and that

mine, I considered myself secure from all attack on his part; but his troops are now marching on my capital. Considering the inutility of attempting any defence, wishing to avoid effusion of blood without the probability of any useful result, and presuming that my faithful vassals will, in such a state of things, suffer less if I absent myself from this kingdom, I have determined, for their advantage, to proceed with the queen and all my family to my American states, and to establish myself in the city of Rio de Janeiro; until a general peace shall take place. Considering, also, that it is my duty, for the interests of my subjects, to leave in this country a government which will watch over their welfare; I have appointed, as long as my absence shall continue, * * * * * [here the composition of the government is detailed.]

"From the confidence I have in the said persons, and from their long experience in public business, I feel assured that they will fulfil their duties with punctuality; that they will administer justice with impartiality; that they will duly dispense rewards and punishments; and that my people will be governed in a manner which must satisfy my conscience.

"The governors will abide by what is herein declared. They will conform to the present decree, as well as to the instructions which are thereto annexed, and communicate them to the proper authorities.

"Given at the palace of our Lady of Aduja, November 26, 1807.

"THE PRINCE."

"INSTRUCTIONS.

"The governors of the kingdom appointed by my decree of this day will take the customary oath administered by the Cardinal Patriarch.

"They shall enforce the rigorous observance of the laws of the kingdom.

"They shall preserve to the people all the privileges which have been granted to them by me and my ancestors.

"They shall decide by a plurality of votes the questions which may be submitted to them by the different tribunals.

"They shall appoint persons to the administration, to the management of the finances, and to offices of justice, in the manner at present practised.

"They shall protect the persons and property of my faithful subjects.

"They shall select for military employments persons already known for meritorious services.

"They shall take care to preserve, as far as possible, the peace of the country; to see that the troops of the Emperor of the French have good quarters; that they are provided with every thing necessary during their stay in the country; and that no insult be offered to them. All this to be observed under pain of the severest punish-

was to speak of the imprudence which had attracted the storm to his states. He could not, however, imagine that the treaty which was to stir up all the power of the peninsula had escaped our attention; and that, although Spain alone had broken out, we did not know what opinion to form of the designs of Portugal.

Whilst the Emperor acted thus with respect to Portugal, he ordered to the frontiers of Spain two army corps, the troops composing which were even less regularly disciplined and embodied than those of General Junot's corps. They consisted, for the most part, of marching battalions. This is a name given to battalions formed of detachments from different regiments, which have a long journey to perform to arrive at the army which they are ordered to join. The best of these troops were men belonging to three different regiments; but there were some battalions, the companies of which were formed of soldiers belonging to a variety of corps, and which even had officers from corps different from those which had supplied the men. The Emperor must certainly have supposed that he would not have any great operations to execute, when he resolved to employ troops of this description. In short, the best portion of them were the conscripts of the southern provinces called out in 1806, when we entered Poland, after that the King of Prussia had refused, while we were at Berlin, to treat, and had thrown himself into the arms of Russia. The Emperor had directed that this portion of

ment, in order to preserve constantly the good understanding which ought to subsist between us and the armies of nations with whom we are allied on the Continent.

"In case of a vacancy, by death or otherwise, in the office of governor of the kingdom, it shall be filled up by a majority of votes. I rely on the sentiments of honour and virtue of the governors. I hope that my people will not suffer from my absence; and that, returning soon amongst them, with the permission of God, I shall find them content, satisfied, and animated with the same spirit which renders them so worthy of my paternal regard.

"Given at the palace of our Lady of Aduja, November 26, 1807."

"THE PRINCE."

the conscription should remain in France, and had formed it in regular corps, which were called legions. These legions were assembled at Grenoble, Dijon, Toulouse, and I believe Bourdeaux. This disposition was made after the battle of Eylau; and it was from Osterode that the Emperor directed them to be formed into reserve corps, the command of which he gave to senators who had served in the army.

The Spanish proclamation had appeared some months previously. The Austrian army of observation was then in the environs of Prague. These reserve corps could therefore have reinforced the army of Italy, had Austria commenced hostilities; or they might have formed an army to oppose the Spaniards, had the proclamation of their government been followed by any offensive operations. Neither of those alternatives occurred, and the Emperor found the legions disposable on his return from Tilsit. Here commence the Spanish affairs, my account of which I think it necessary to introduce by some preliminary details.

It has been very industriously reported, that M. de Talleyrand was opposed to this enterprise. It has suited some party interests to endeavour to confirm this opinion; but it is contrary to truth. Far from being opposed to it, M. de Talleyrand even advised it. It was he who dictated all the preliminary steps, and it was with the view of promptly carrying the measure into effect that he so urgently pressed the conclusion of peace at Tilsit; he then told the Emperor that he ought to direct his chief attention to the south of Europe, where, sooner or later, a warlike prince would arise who might endeavour to shake the fabric which he had raised. He remarked, that a single proclamation had sufficed to throw all the country into alarm, and that if another battle like that of Eylau should occur, which might be the case in the very heart of Russia, whither the Emperor must have penetrated had not peace been concluded, it was possible that the Spaniards and the Austrians would arrive at Paris

before he could be informed of their approach; that, on the other hand, if he made peace with England before an advantageous adjustment of the affairs of Spain was accomplished, it would be necessary to renounce that object for ever, because he would find all the powers of Europe against him if he afterwards attempted to obtain it; instead of which, were he fortunate enough to succeed now, he might treat with England on that basis, making in another quarter the sacrifices to which he would be obliged to submit. M. de Talleyrand was the first who thought of the Spanish expedition. He laid the springs which it was necessary to bring into play to complete the work. It is very true that he wished to carry it on in a different manner; and perhaps he might have brought it to a better conclusion. Chance would have it that at the very conjuncture when we had most occasion for all the resources of M. de Talleyrand's mind, of his skill, and of his talents, which now shone in all the lustre that the success of the Emperor's arms could throw upon them, he retired from public affairs. By his absence we were deprived of all those means of intrigue with which Spain abounded, and which M. de Talleyrand had wielded at his pleasure during more than ten years. The consequence was, that we attacked the political system of the country in a very unstatesmanlike manner, offending interests which might have been rendered favourable, had they not been shocked and turned against us at the outset.

It has also been asserted that M. de Talleyrand's objection to the policy adopted with regard to Spain induced him to quit the ministry. This is another error, still more absurd than the former. The Emperor was for a long time very much dissatisfied with M. de Talleyrand, on account of his leaving the direction of public affairs at this conjuncture on a point of mere personal vanity. On his return from Tilsit the Emperor made Berthier Vice-constable, which gave him the rank of grand dignitary. Berthier's office of minister for the war

department he gave to General Clarke, whose official talents had been developed in Prussia and at Vienna.

M. de Talleyrand wished to be a grand dignitary, and was hurt at seeing the arch-chancellor and Berthier elevated above him. He began to say that he was fatigued; that his health would no longer permit him to follow the head-quarters; that he wished, with all his heart, to serve the Emperor, but that he had need of repose. He succeeded in making this sort of complaint reach the Emperor's ear, through the medium of women who had access to the Empress; in a word, the Emperor soon divined the rest.

The Emperor was too well pleased with M. de Talleyrand to refuse him what he seemed to desire so ardently. He therefore made him Vice-Grand-Elector; and, as in the case of Berthier, he also left the ministry, and was succeeded in the department for foreign affairs by M. de Champagny. The Emperor was much vexed at this change, especially on account of the crisis which was approaching; and M. de Talleyrand himself soon repented his resignation, because, once out of the ministry, he became the object of a host of intrigues and mischievous reports. People fathered upon him all sorts of indiscreet speeches, with respect to matters which had occurred previously to his quitting office, and to the future projects of the Emperor. If the Emperor said any thing, it was reasoned upon in every mode, and made the subject of ill-natured criticisms, which were attributed to M. de Talleyrand; and he, having no longer the opportunity of private conferences, in which he could have disconcerted the stratagems of his enemies, these absurdities, however ridiculous in themselves, could not fail at last to produce some unfavourable impression on the Emperor's mind.

M. de Talleyrand soon became the butt at which all aimed who hoped to push themselves into notice, and participate in the honours attached to the office which he had quitted. Every effort was made to render him odious to the Emperor:

a thousand tales were invented, the production of persons who cannot endure the idea of being placed in comparison with those whose superiority they are compelled to acknowledge; who, guided by private interest, and instigated by the passions of the creatures who surround them, would rather ruin a whole state, by withholding light from the monarch, than suffer their own star to be dimmed by giving access to men who really could serve him. The Emperor resisted for a long time, and continued to receive M. de Talleyrand with kindness; but as, at last, every thing gives way to that importunity which never relaxes, Talleyrand soon fell into a sort of disgrace. Nevertheless, he did not abandon the enterprise which he had suggested to the Emperor; on the contrary, he constantly urged it on; and profiting, with his usual address, of a fit of anger which had seized Charles IV, he went even the length of proposing to alter the order of succession to the Spanish throne. Besides, on being charged, conjointly with the grand-marshal, to prosecute the negotiations that the Prince of Peace had opened on the subject of Portugal, he did not limit himself to demanding that Charles IV should deliver up the trade of his colonies to the French; but he even proposed that he should abandon to us the Spanish provinces which join our frontier, and that he should receive in exchange the spoils of the sovereign who had fled at the sight of our banners. The following document fixes the situation in which he had placed the question: it is the report of the last conference which took place on the subject between him and Izquierdo.

"*To the Prince of the Peace.*

"Paris, March 24th, 1808.

"The state of affairs does not permit me to write all the details of the conferences which, after my return from Madrid, I have had here, by order of the Emperor, with

General Duroc, grand-marshal of the palace, and with the vice-grand-elector of the empire, the Prince de Benevento.

"I must confine my despatch to an explanation of the means which are proposed for regulating, and even for terminating amicably, the questions which are pending between Spain and France; for I have been charged to communicate the proposed means to my government, and to recommend the making of a reply as soon as possible.

"It is notorious that many corps of French troops are at present in Spain; and it is difficult to say what might be the result of this state of things.

"Some arrangements between the two governments may prevent unfortunate consequences, and even lead to a definitive and solemn treaty on some such bases as the following:—

"1st basis.—The French shall carry on trade with the Spanish colonies as freely as if they were Spaniards, and the Spaniards shall trade with the French colonies as freely as if they were French; both shall pay custom duties as if they were natives of the territory. This privilege shall belong to them exclusively, so that France shall grant it only to Spaniards, and Spain only to Frenchmen.

"2nd basis.—Portugal is at present under the power of France. The French nation has need of a military route for the continual passage of troops which must proceed to Portugal in order to maintain the garrisons, and defend the country against the incursions of the English. It is probable that this matter will cause much expense, ill humour, many objections, and even frequent occasions of disorder: but every thing would be perfectly well arranged if Spain possessed Portugal altogether; she might then indemnify France by ceding an equivalent, consisting of the territory of Spanish provinces contiguous to the French empire.

"3d basis.—To regulate definitively the succession to the Spanish throne.*

"4th basis.—To conclude a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, stipulating the number of troops each nation shall furnish to its ally in case of war.

"These are the bases on which may be established a definitive treaty, capable of terminating happily the existing crisis of the two states. But in affairs of such a nature I have only to obey. When the question regards the existence of the state, its honour, its reputation, and its government, the decisions should have their origin in the councils of the sovereign. Nevertheless, my ardent love for my country has prompted me to make to the Prince de Benevento the following observations:—*

"1st. To grant to the French an equal freedom of commerce with the Spaniards, would be tantamount to dividing

* *Letter of Charles IV. to the Emperor Napoleon.*

"Sir, my brother,

"At the moment when I was occupied with the means of co-operating for the destruction of our common enemy, when I believed that all the plots of the late Queen of Naples had been buried with her daughter, I perceive, with a horror that makes me tremble, that the most dreadful spirit of intrigue has penetrated even into the heart of my palace. Alas! my heart bleeds at reciting so dreadful an outrage. My eldest son, the presumptive heir to my throne, entered into a horrible plot to dethrone me; he even went to the extreme of attempting the life of his mother. So dreadful a crime ought to be punished with the most exemplary rigour of the laws. *The law which calls him to the succession ought to be revoked; one of his brothers will be more worthy to occupy his place, both in my heart and on the throne.* I am at this moment in search of his accomplices, in order to sift thoroughly this plan of most atrocious wickedness; and I would not lose a moment in informing your imperial and royal majesty of it, and to beseech you to assist me with your knowledge and counsel.

"For which I pray, &c.

"CHARLES.

"San Lorenzo, November 29, 1807."

the Americas between the French and Spanish nations; and to grant it exclusive to the French, would be departing farther and farther from peace, and would cause the loss of all our commercial relations, and also those of France with America, until the signing of peace with England, except, indeed, the arrogance of that power should be chastised. I also stated, that if my sovereign acceded to this article, it would be necessary to add, that the French merchants who wished to fix their residence in America should not have the rights of citizens, but only of sojourners, according to the express laws which have hitherto served to regulate the residence of foreigners.

"2nd. In speaking of the affairs of Portugal, I referred to the treaty of the 27th of October last. I endeavoured to explain the sacrifice of the King of Etruria, and to show that the whole of Portugal, separated from its colonies, would be worth nothing to Spain; that the inhabitants of the provinces contiguous to the Pyrenees would not endure the loss of their laws, exemptions, privileges, and language, still less the change of their sovereign. I also added, that it would be absolutely impossible for me to sign the cession of Navarre; because, if I did so, I should doubtless be the object of the execration of all my countrymen, Navarre being my native province. Finally, I did not hesitate to say, that if it were definitively determined to separate from the kingdom of Spain the said provinces contiguous to the Pyrenees, it would be necessary to create another kingdom called *Iberia*, for the indemnification of the King of Etruria, on the bases of preserving to the inhabitants of the country their laws, exemptions, usages, and language, and of the kingdom being always governed by a prince of the royal family of the Spanish Bourbons; and that, in another case, the separation might take place under the form of viceroyalty, on the condition of the government being always possessed by an *Infante of Spain*.

"3rd. In speaking of the succession to the throne of Spain, I have stated all that the King our lord and master did me the honour to command, as well as all that was necessary to contradict the calumnies invented by wicked Spaniards, and repeated here as truths until they have even perverted public opinion.

"4th. With respect to the offensive and defensive alliance, I asked the Prince de Benevento whether it was contemplated to reduce Spain to the state of the confederation of the Rhine, by imposing on her the obligation of furnishing troops, which would really be subjecting her, under the specious name of alliance, to the payment of a war-tribute: for if Spain were at peace with France, she would never have need of French assistance for the defence of the Spanish territory, as might be perceived with respect to the Canary islands, the provinces of Buenos Ayres, and the port of Ferrol. As to Africa, it goes for nothing.

"On the subject of the marriage, the Prince and I agree; there are no difficulties in the way. But I have been informed, that in the treaty which would be formed on the before-named bases, the marriage would not be mentioned; but that it would be the subject of a separate convention.

"There is also no difficulty with respect to the title of Emperor of the Americas, which our King would have to take.

"I am informed that it is necessary to reply immediately, with regard to the acceptance of the bases, in order to avoid the inconvenience which might result from delay.

"I was asked, whether it was true that the King our lord proposed going into Andalusia. I replied, that I knew nothing of it, and I spoke truth. 'Do you believe (I was asked) that Charles IV. has already made that journey?' 'I believe not (I replied), because the King, the Queen, and the Prince of Peace, rely tranquilly on the Emperor's good faith.'

"I demanded the suspension of the entrance of French troops into the interior provinces of Spain until I should

receive an answer to this note; and, at the same time, that the French troops which are in Castile should leave it. I did not succeed; I was only led to hope that, if the bases were accepted by the King, the troops would be directed to depart from the provinces in which their majesties might be.

"Letters have been received here, dated from Spain, which state that some Spanish troops are to be marched towards Madrid, by the route of Talavera; and that your Highness had made that fact known to me by an extraordinary courier. In reply, I have stated the truth, as far as I know it, on this subject.

"It is supposed here that your Excellency has departed for Seville, in company with the King and the Queen. I do not know how this may be; and I have therefore ordered the courier not to stop until he reaches the place of your Highness's residence.

"The French troops will not stop the courier; at least the grand-marshal of the palace has given me this assurance.

"EUGENE IZQUIERDO."

"Paris, March 24, 1808."

The revolution of Aranjuez had taken place when this dispatch arrived.

A circumstance happened at Paris, after my return, which very much vexed the Emperor. He informed me of it himself. He had been rather dissatisfied with Fouché; and that minister now endeavoured, amidst the general rejoicing, to find an opportunity for giving some signal proof of his zeal, and thereby restoring himself to favour. Fouché, who had the credit of possessing an extraordinary share of intelligence and finesse, was, in fact, very little acquainted with what was passing around him, and quite a stranger to the decorous forms and usages of society. This was the natural consequence of the course he had pursued. Having attached himself to every party in the revolution, and, turn by turn,

deserted them all, to follow the favourite of the day, he had never been able to divest himself of the habits this system of conduct had generated in him. He was always governed, and yet he fancied that he directed all the movements of those who did govern. In pursuing this system he was often much misled. Accordingly, the Emperor used to say of him, "M. Fouché wishes to be my guide, and to lead the head of every column; but as I never give him any information, he does not know where to go, and, of course, constantly loses his way."

I know not whether M. Fouché had been informed that the Emperor wished for, or at least was entertaining the thought of, a divorce; but perceiving that nothing was neglected to consolidate the alliance with Russia, he imagined that without his assistance we should never have discovered that one member of the imperial family was a charming princess, worthy of the brightest crown in the world, and even capable of heightening its lustre by the transcendant brilliancy of her qualifications. Fouché had been told that the Emperor entertained some scruples about separating his destiny from one whom he had associated with his existence, and who testified her gratitude by the most vigilant attention to whatever could interest him.

M. Fouché assumed to himself the task of negotiator in this delicate affair between the Emperor and Empress; and, as a first step, took measures to make certain senators, whose opinions were always regulated by his own, start the idea of hinting to the Empress, that she might do an act at once beneficial to the state and agreeable to the Emperor's feelings, by proposing herself a divorce, of which the Emperor could not venture to speak. Fouché talked to the senators like a person who had received instructions in conformity with the language he used, and he met the entire concurrence of his auditory, none of whom cared to urge the slightest objection. The minister, who now considered himself well

supported by an opinion declared by others, though he had instilled it into them, had the assurance to go straight to the Empress, and harass her feelings by talking to her of the necessity of making so painful a sacrifice. He talked of the wish which he alleged had been expressed by the senate, and of the gratitude the nation would feel towards her.

The first impression on the Empress' mind was, that the minister of police came from the Emperor; who, not wishing to be a witness of her grief, had thus commissioned Fouché to make this communication. She was not, however, disconcerted, but replied, "Sir, it behoves me to set the example of obedience to the Emperor's commands; you may go and tell him I shall consider no sacrifice too great, when accompanied by the consoling reflection of having acted in conformity to his wishes." With these words she left the minister in the saloon, and retired. This was not exactly what M. Fouché wanted. He reckoned on having a long conversation with the Empress, to which he hoped to be able to give such a turn as to make the proposition appear to originate with herself, and thus to keep out of sight, in the first instance, the share which he and the senate had in the business. The answer he received, however, left him in possession of all the official character he had assumed on his introduction.

The Emperor, who often in the course of the day went from his closet to the Empress' apartments, happened to visit her that morning, and found her in tears. He inquired the cause of her distress; and she replied, "Can you ask, after what you have made me say?" This was a riddle to the Emperor. He had an explanation of the affair, and was thunderstruck at his minister's impudence. He sent for him, and never was any person more severely reproved than the minister of police on this occasion. The Emperor was quite in a passion; and solely to the readiness with which he always pardoned personal injuries must it be attributed that

Fouché was permitted to continue to exercise the functions of an office which he was so liable to abuse. The Emperor, however, never after placed any confidence in him, and always viewed him as a man acting on a system of self-interest, to which he accommodated the affairs of the state —whose only talent was subtilty—who possessed the spirit of intrigue without judgment to direct it, and who evidently had no feeling of personal attachment to him.

This impudent proceeding of the police minister would alone have been sufficient to break off an alliance of this nature with Russia, even had such proposals been made at all, because he took care to give himself out as the author of the project; so that the Emperor would have seemed to form the union under the influence of his minister's opinion, and thus would have himself enjoyed none of the credit due to it.

CHAPTER XVI.

Formation of the select gendarmerie—Composition of that corps—Hospital de Sedan—Creation of a new order of nobility—The Emperor not displeased at opposition.

M. FOUCHÉ soon obtained a full pardon. He employed the interest of the Grand-duke of Berg, who, as will be seen in the sequel, had strong reasons for keeping fair with the minister. He applied also to certain members of the Emperor's family, who were silly enough to believe they owed all the good the Emperor did them to his influence; and that as long as he had the ear of the Emperor, the wicked falsehoods reported of them would find no place in his mind, while nobody hatched these reports but Fouché himself. He used to say to the Emperor, that there was a vile story in circulation

which would injure the reputation of such a prince, such a lady, or such another. Such and such a libel was afloat; but he had taken care it should go no farther. Now the fact was, he had heard nothing; he had been told neither this nor that. The libel was of his own concoction, though laid to another's account. It was thus he imposed on the Emperor when he brought him a fictitious report, which he always took care to preface by an ingenious preamble. It was in vain, however, that he drew largely on his wit, for his credit was on the decline.

It was at this period, however, that he artfully contrived to transfer all the odium of his administration and private manœuvres to the select gendarmerie. After exposing any individual to an act of severity, on the score of some report which had its origin with himself, he used to say to the friends of his unfortunate victim, "It is none of my fault. The Emperor no longer asks my advice, and I am consequently compelled to act against the dictates of my reason. His gendarmerie compose his police; and as for me, I have enough to do to take care of myself, for it may be my turn to-morrow."

By such artful speeches did the wily minister rid himself of all the odium of the measures he made the Emperor adopt. When I arrive at the period at which I succeeded to his office, I shall enter more into detail concerning him.

I shall now take the opportunity of speaking of that select gendarmerie, which was so useful to the minister by veiling his operations, and bearing the share of public execration he contrived to direct against, or allowed to be fixed upon it.

It was I who created this corps, and it was for eight years under my command. I can vouch that, during the whole of that period, I never received from the Emperor any order to employ gendarmes on service not strictly in conformity with their institution, and with the provisions of the law relative to

the gendarmerie. The Emperor never employed them in any affair of secret police, and I can aver upon my honour, that, until I was myself at the head of the state police, I had not the slightest idea that it was supposed they could be so employed. I confess I often thought it would have been lucky for me could the gendarmerie have been made applicable to some services of this sort; but before that none of the corps, any more than myself, had ever entertained any notion of the kind. I will go farther. During the eight years I commanded this corps, I never knew an individual in its ranks who would not have spurned a proposal to execute any such commissions as those for which it has been alleged gendarmes were always employed. Their accusers and detractors would not have dared to say to their face one-half of what they have printed against them. There was not a single gendarme under my command who had not been a sub-officer in the ranks of the army. They were all attached to me, because I did not flinch from the task of defending them against the attacks of calumny, and obtaining justice for them. Their attachment was the consequence of their esteem; and though the base calumny which caused their dissolution was most persevering in its efforts, they nevertheless possess a just claim to public approbation. For my part, I shall always reckon those days among the happiest of my life, on which I may be of service to any one of them.

There were still at Paris, on my return from Russia, some of the deputations which had been sent by the departments with addresses of congratulation to the Emperor. The deputation from my department (the Ardennes) was of the number. The members of that deputation waited on me, and invited me, as a compatriot whom they esteemed, in the name of the department to a dinner. This circumstance afforded the highest gratification I experienced at this period.

Attached to the deputation from the department of the Ardennes was the mayor of the town of Sedan, who, accompa-

nied by some deputies from that town, had come to Paris for the purpose of obtaining, first, the grant of a national building for the establishment of a public charity; and secondly, the restoration to the military hospital of their town of the annuity granted by Marshal Turenne, and charged on his property when he founded the hospital.* This legacy had been swallowed up by the revolution; and the greater part of the property of the House of Bouillon having been confiscated, the heirs expected that the grant to the hospital should be made good out of the property they had lost. The ministry with much reason observed, that if the Emperor in one instance admitted the justice of such a claim, every town in the same predicament would come forward with the like demands; and as there could be no ground for refusing the restoration of the property in future cases, if it were granted in this, the demand was not conceded.

In the hope that I might have it in my power to obviate the difficulties they met with, my countrymen applied to me for assistance. I eagerly seized upon this opportunity of testifying my attachment to the place of my birth. I put into the hands of the mayor, M. de Neuflize, the most considerable man in the town, who was proud of the commission, a power of attorney, authorising him to purchase property in the neighbourhood of the town of equal value with Marshal Turenne's endowment. I desired that the property should be of a permanent description, and, as far as possible, secure against revolutionary convulsion, confiscation, or alienation, and free from mortgage, or any kind of embarrassment. Having found a suitable property, he was to purchase it forthwith, and I engaged to provide the funds, only making it a condition that the purchase should be considered in no other light than as a reconstitution of the original endowment, as

* Marshal Turenne was born at Sedan, and the military hospital at that town was founded by him.

it existed before the revolution, subject to the same obligatory observances to the memory of the marshal; namely, the reinstalment of the coat of arms in the church, and the celebration of divine service every 26th July, the anniversary of his death. It was necessary that a report from the council of state should be laid before the Emperor on the whole of these propositions, which were afterwards sanctioned by a decree. Since that period, the military hospital of Sedan has enjoyed what it lost; that is to say, an annuity of twelve thousand francs: for the capital of which I paid from my own pocket the sum of forty thousand francs.

It was in the month of January, 1808, and during the February following the Emperor referred his project for creating a new class of nobility to the council of state. This question gave rise to warm debates. It had many opponents; and it is remarkable that the Emperor, who has been accused of despotic feelings, always studiously endeavoured on such occasions to bring forward the opinions of those counsellors of state who were opposed to his measures. He constantly recommended the practice of speaking their minds freely; often saying, with regard to this as well as other subjects, "Have no reserve in discussing the question; for, when once it is decided, and the decree signed, it will be useless afterwards to recur to it, or regret it."

He never was offended by opposition to his opinions. He liked them to be fairly canvassed, and it cost him no effort to concur in that which was proved to him to be the more reasonable; and he always retained in his mind a favourable impression of any one who threw light on a subject by opposing him.

The question of the nobility was very warmly discussed. It placed all the men of the revolution who supported it in the situation of deserters from their party. Nevertheless, be it by the force of reason or of selfish vanity, it was carried; and, in the month of February, the Emperor created six-

teen dukes, and a great many counts and barons. He did me the honour to include me in the first class, and to add to that rank a rich endowment, which I have since lost, in consequence of those reverses which have occasioned similar losses to others who partook of his benefits.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Prince of the Peace has all the resources of Spain at his arbitrary disposal—Discontent of the nation—He is obliged to have recourse to foreign influence—The Duchess of Orleans, M. de la Bouillerie—Our troops take possession of part of Spain—The Aranjuez conspiracy—Ferdinand proclaimed King of Spain.

IN the month of February, 1808, the troops which, as I have already stated, were assembled in the south of France, advanced by the Emperor's order to the frontier of Spain. Portugal was occupied; and the policy of Russia assumed a character which seemed to afford us security. A treaty was concluded at Fontainebleau; in virtue of which, part of the Portuguese provinces were to remain as a pledge in our hands until a general peace; another portion was to be given to the Queen of Etruria, in return for the cession of Tuscany to France; and the rest was to form a sovereignty for the Prince of the Peace, who assuredly, as may well be imagined, did not obtain this elevation to supreme power without making some return to us in services of such a nature as he was capable of rendering.

This man, whom favours of an extraordinary kind placed at the head of affairs in Spain, governed the country for more than ten years as an absolute master. He had confirmed his power by appointing his creatures to all employments, civil, military, and ecclesiastic, both in Spain and the Indies.

He was the dispenser of all favours; and had obtained

such an ascendency over the councils of the sovereign, that Charles IV. replied to every application made to him—"Go to Emanuel."*

The possession of this authority rendered him the object of much odium; for he had been guilty of great injustice in acquiring his power, and this unpopularity counterbalanced the favour he enjoyed. The Prince of the Asturias having been introduced into the privy-council, found reason to complain of the haughty conduct of the favourite, who never hesitated to wound his feelings, by making evident the source whence he derived that authority, to which even the heir of the crown was obliged to submit. As the Prince of the Asturias advanced in years, his dislike of the Prince of the Peace increased; and the latter never concealed his ample return of the aversion. The Prince of Asturias resorted to every means in his power to work the downfall of his enemy. He was encouraged by the state of public opinion, which was decidedly hostile to the court; and by the offended pride of the nation, which clung to him as its last hope.

A spirit of discontent pervaded the country, and the Prince of the Peace found that the power he had so long possessed was about to escape from his grasp; and it was obvious that he must soon be obliged to resort to extraordinary expedients to maintain it. He had long felt the necessity of seeking the protection of a foreign power, in order to strengthen his authority. With this view, he had done every thing to render himself agreeable to France, where, in return, measures had been agreed to which were useful to his influence in Spain. He thus became necessary to his court, from the belief that he was more acceptable to the French government than any other person. His enemies did not fail to turn this circumstance against him: they represented him as a traitor, who had sold Spain to France, and reduced the

* The name of the Prince of the Peace was Emanuel Godoy.

country to the situation of one of the viceroyalties, in which only the will of the Emperor was obeyed.

On the other hand, all the evils of which Spain was supposed to have reason to complain were attributed to France; and we were accused of supporting the Prince of the Peace to the injury of the country. The result of this state of things was a constant irritation between the partisans of the Prince of the Asturias and the creatures of the Prince of the Peace; the latter fearing, as much as the former wished, the dismissal of the favourite. The advisers of the Prince Royal were not sufficiently prudent, and became too suddenly elated on seeing the inflamed state of the public mind. They had, perhaps, conceived the plan of putting a stop to the career of the Prince of the Peace, by rendering him the victim of his own ambition. Be this as it may, that prince, seeing a catastrophe approaching, and all Spain declaring against him, concluded that he was completely ruined: in the mean time, the French troops were advancing towards the Spanish territory, in execution of the treaty of Fontainebleau, of which he alone possessed the secret, and which was not even yet signed. He readily perceived that the invasion would be attributed to his desire of personal protection.

To secure, therefore, his remaining power, which was still necessary to enable him to execute his plans, he could think of no other means than to induce Charles IV. to write to the Emperor, to inform him of the misunderstandings which divided Spain; to state that he was so unfortunate as to be obliged to acknowledge the existence of a plot against his life, framed even in his own palace, by base men who assembled round his son; and at the same time to state to the Emperor his intention of making an example, and to ask advice.*

This last decided stroke gave new authority to the Prince of the Peace, but did not raise him in public opinion, which

* See the letter of Charles IV. page 144.

was entirely in favour of the Prince of the Asturias, who was looked upon as his victim.

The Prince of the Asturias was in a hazardous situation. His most faithful partisans were arrested and informed against. He had every thing to fear from the enterprises of a man to whom his ruin was necessary. He sought to defend himself against the malevolence of the favourite. He had already addressed himself to the Emperor; and had found means to transmit to him a letter, in which he appealed for his protection against the intriguers who had vowed his destruction, and who wished to make him the victim of the ambition of a man who set no bounds to the humiliations to which he subjected him.

The Emperor had answered the King's letter, but he had been silent to the Prince of the Asturias. This circumstance happened on the Emperor's return from his journey to Italy; and I believe it was immediately before he set out that he received the two letters I have just mentioned.

When the French troops entered Spain they found in Catalonia the Prince de Conti, the Duchess de Bourbon, and the Duchess d'Orleans, who had lived there in retirement since the period when the Directory, in order to sell their property, had obliged them to quit France, settling on each a pension of twenty or twenty-five thousand francs. These pensions were payable on the production of certificates of the parties being in life, and the observance of all the formalities prescribed to private persons who are life-annuitants of the state. Thus these unfortunate individuals were subjected to insult, without receiving the tenth part of what had been taken from them, after they had been forced to quit France. They no doubt thought it useless to complain. Things were still going on in this way when the Emperor first received a hint respecting the situation of the personages above-mentioned from General Canclaux, who had remained the warm friend of the Prince de Conti. The Duke de Gaëte, the

minister of finance, was the next to draw the Emperor's attention to the business. He made it his own personal affair; and he knew the Emperor's heart so well, that he added to the report he presented to him the plan of a decree for raising each pension to sixty thousand francs, and ordering that they should be paid in the places where the parties resided, by direction of the minister of the treasury, who was for this purpose to furnish the necessary sums to a banking-house in Paris, which was ordered *to pay punctually, and to* draw upon the treasury. The Emperor immediately signed the paper, and thanked the minister of finance.

Thus disappeared the formalities to which these illustrious individuals had been subjected. They had hitherto been obliged to have an agent in Paris, furnished with powers of attorney, and to send him certificates of their being in life, signed by agents of the republic, who doubtless, as usual, made misfortune their prey.

The Emperor had even granted a pension to the nurses of the late Dauphin and the Duchess d'Angoulême. It was the Dowager-countess de Segur who petitioned for them. A circumstance, which can only be accounted for by the spirit of re-action, is that, at the commencement of the restoration, these pensions were stopped, and their payment was not renewed until after a considerable time.

Much has been said about the Emperor's tyranny and spirit of spoliation. The following fact is one of many that might be adduced to prove that these acts were always the work of the ministers, from whose departments they proceeded.

The extraordinary domain was under the superintendence of M. de la Bouillerie, that is to say, its treasury, for M. Defermon was the intendant. To this domain was added all the seizures arising from the execution of the prohibitory decrees of Berlin and Milan. One day, M. de la Bouillerie received from the intendant information of the

seizure of two vessels at Havre. He was directed to take charge of them, and to realise their value, which was estimated at eight hundred thousand francs. It was very late when M. de la Bouillerie received this information, as well as the documents which accompanied it.

He observed that to effect this seizure, a forced interpretation had been given to the decrees of Berlin and Milan. He immediately made a private report of the affair to the Emperor, to whom he had the right of entry at all hours. However, as it was late, and there was a possibility that the Emperor could not read the report, M. de la Bouillerie himself wrote on the top:—

"It is important to send a courier to Havre immediately, with orders for restoring the two seized vessels."

M. de la Bouillerie himself carried the report to the Emperor, to whom he was immediately admitted. The Emperor glanced over the report, which was very long, and without reading it he wrote on the margin, under M. de la Bouillerie's note, the words "*Approved*, NAPOLEON." He directed M. de la Bouillerie to send off the order, and he kept the report, desiring him to return next day. The courier was dispatched that night, and the ships were restored. Next day M. de la Bouillerie waited upon the Emperor, who said to him, "I have read your report, and I thank you for preventing me from being led into the commission of such odious injustice. I wish every one would act in this way."

But to resume my narrative.

When the troops reached the frontiers, they were marched into Pampeluna, Rosas, Figueras, and Barcelona; and then commenced our first transactions with the Spaniards. This advance upon their territory was attributed to the Prince of the Peace by the adverse party; and to the intrigues of the partisans of the Prince of the Asturias, by the adherents of the Prince of the Peace. This rivalry brought matters to a crisis. The Prince of the Peace pretended to believe that the

marching of the troops into Spain, and taking possession of the towns above mentioned, had no other object than to secure the execution of the treaty of Fontainebleau.

The Prince of the Asturias regarded the whole as the effect of treachery on the part of the Prince of the Peace, who was generally supposed to have sold himself to us.

The Prince of the Peace himself pretended to be alarmed, and perhaps was really so, when he saw the advance of our troops, of whom part had arrived at Burgos, and part entered Barcelona. He declared that the royal family had no alternative but to retire to Seville, and call the Spanish nation to arms. It was said to have been arranged that he should act this part to induce the King and the royal family to depart for Seville; and that he was to escape from them clandestinely at Seville, to go and enjoy the advantages insured to him by the treaty of Fontainebleau. Such is the story I have heard; but I saw nothing which warranted me in believing it, at least as to the design entertained by the Prince of the Peace of taking possession of the territories he had secured to himself. Far from this, the Prince knew the decree of Milan, by which Junot was made governor of Portugal, and authorised to exercise his functions in the name of the Emperor. The principality of the Algarves was now no longer talked of, and no doubt the Prince had ceased to flatter himself with any thought of that dominion. He assembled the King's council at the palace of Aranjuez, and, after describing the misfortunes which threatened the monarchy, he succeeded in prevailing on the council to adopt his advice and decree the removal of the royal family to Seville. On quitting this council, the Prince of the Asturias said to the guards, as he passed through the hall in which they were stationed, "The Prince of the Peace is a traitor: he wishes to send away my father. Prevent his departure."

This observation of the Prince of the Asturias was rapidly reported through town. The populace repaired to the

palace of the Prince of the Peace, ransacked it, and, after vigilant search, found the prince concealed in a garret. He would undoubtedly have fallen a victim to the fury of the mob, had not some of his attendants saved him by carrying him off to prison, pretending that they did so by order of the Prince of the Asturias.

The signal of revolt being thus given, it almost immediately assumed a character which alarmed the King, and this opportunity was seized for soliciting his abdication in favour of his son. He consented, in order to save his life, and to gain permission to remain in his residence while the Prince of the Asturias went to Madrid.

This event was of course accompanied by many circumstances which it would be interesting to relate. But the fear of committing errors induces me to mention it only in a summary way.

The revolution was made known throughout all Spain by couriers, and the downfall of the Prince of the Peace excited general enthusiasm.

The Grand-duke of Berg had joined the army when he learned this event. He received, at the same time, a letter from Charles IV. for Napoleon, in which the King of Spain communicated to his ally the violence which had been committed against him. This letter was as follows:

"Sire, my Brother,

"You will doubtless learn with regret the events of Aranjuez, and their consequences. Your Majesty cannot behold without sympathy, a king who, having been forced to abdicate his crown, comes to throw himself into the arms of a monarch, his ally, placing himself wholly at the disposal of him, who alone can restore his happiness and that of his family and his faithful subjects. I consented to resign my crown in favour of my son only by the force of circumstances, and when the din of arms and clamour of the insur-

gent guards proved that I had only to choose between life and death—a death which would have been followed by that of the Queen. I was forced to abdicate. But now alarm is subsiding, and, full of confidence in the magnanimity and genius of the great man who has always shown himself my friend, I have resolved to place at his disposal my own fate as well as that of the Queen and the Prince of the Peace. I address to your Imperial and Royal Majesty a protest against the events of Aranjuez and my abdication. I consign myself to the protection of your Majesty, in whose heart I implicitly confide; and I pray God, &c.

"Your Imperial and Royal Majesty's very affectionate brother and friend,

"CHARLES.

"I protest and declare that my decree of the 19th of March, by which I have abdicated the crown in favour of my son, was not a voluntary act, but one to which I was induced to consent with the view of preventing great misfortunes, and the shedding of the blood of my dearly-beloved subjects; it must accordingly be regarded as null.

"CHARLES.

"Aranjuez, March 21st, 1808."

The Grand-duke of Berg sent this letter to the Emperor, and at the same time informed him that he was marching with the army on Madrid, which he entered at the beginning of April 1808.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Napoleon's reflections on the subject of the revolution of Aranjuez—I set out for Madrid—Instructions given to me by the Emperor—The Infante Don Carlos—The sword of Francis I.—The Emperor's letter to the Grand-duke of Berg.

THE Emperor received the first news of the Aranjuez revolution at St. Cloud, on a Saturday evening. While attending mass, next day, he was observed to be somewhat abstracted, which was not usual with him. On the preceding evening he had dispatched his ambassador, M. de Tournon, with fresh instructions to the Grand-duke of Berg.

He sent for me when every body had retired, and having desired me to follow him into the park, where we remained two hours, he thus addressed me:—

"I am going to send you to Madrid. I learn from thence that King Charles IV. has abdicated, and that his son is to succeed him; and I am also informed, that these events are the consequence of a revolution, in which the Prince of the Peace seems to have been put down. This leads me to suspect that the King's abdication has not been voluntary. I was prepared for some changes in Spain; but affairs are likely to take a different turn from that which I expected. See our ambassador, and let me know what he has done in this business. How happens it that he did not take means to prevent a revolution, which will, no doubt, be attributed to me, and in which I am forced to interfere? Before I recognise the son, I must ascertain the sentiments of the father. He is my ally, and it is with him that I have contracted engagements. If he appeals for my support, he shall have it; and I will replace him on the throne in spite of all intrigues. I now find that he did not unjustly accuse his son of plotting against him. This event reveals the truth. Such an action shall

never receive my concurrence: it would disgrace my policy, and would, one day or other, turn against myself.

"But if the abdication of the father be voluntary, (in which case it should present the character of a voluntary act, whereas this has every appearance of being forced,) I will see whether I can enter into arrangements with the son; as I did with the father.

"When Charles V. abdicated, he did not content himself with a written declaration. He authenticated his abdication by the observance of the usual ceremonies, which he repeated several times; and did not resign the sovereign authority until all the world was convinced that the sacrifice was the result of his own free-will.

"Such an abdication has a very different character from that of a sovereign whose government is superseded, and who can only choose between death and the signature of the act.

"Nothing can induce me to recognise this abdication until it assumes the legal character which it at present wants; otherwise, it would only be necessary that a band of traitors should introduce themselves into my palace during the night, to force me to abdicate, and to overthrow the government of the state.

"If the Prince of the Asturias is to be seated on the throne of Spain, I must know him: I must ascertain whether he is himself capable of governing; and if so, what are his principles.

"If he is to govern by his ministers, I wish to know by what party he is ruled; and whether our affairs at the court of Madrid are to remain on the same footing as that on which they stood during the government of the King his father.

"I do not expect they will; for in revolutions extremes meet; and it is probable that one of the new King's grand means of gaining popularity has been to have manifested the intention of following a course opposite to that of his father,

who himself gave me some degree of uneasiness after the battle of Jena.

"Doubtless the persons who surround the Prince of the Asturias will be different from those who were about his father. This is all very proper, and it will matter little to me. The King, his father, approved of the individuals composing his government, and it was not for me to find fault with them. I was perfectly satisfied with the arrangements I had made with him.

"I would willingly enter upon the same understanding with the son, and come to an honourable conclusion with the father.

"But if, as I fear, the son has adopted a course opposite to that of his father, he will be surrounded by all whom King Charles IV. had removed from his court, and from public affairs. In that case I may expect to meet with difficulties, because men govern most frequently by their passions; and these having attributed their disgrace to the influence of France, will not suffer any opportunity of revenge to escape, if I give them time and means.

"When I made peace with the Russians, I might have re-established Poland, where public sentiment was entirely in my favour. The confidence which I placed in the Emperor of Russia, for maintaining peace in Europe, and securing me, by his alliance, against new enterprises similar to those over which I had happily triumphed, induced me to abandon my project. But to its renunciation I attached the condition, that the Emperor of Russia should become the mediator of the peace to which I wished to bring England; and that in case of refusal on the part of that power, he was to unite with me in the war against her, in spite of all that Russia might suffer from the loss of trade with England.

"It would be very absurd in the Spanish government to suppose that, after availing myself of only one of the advantages which a successful war afforded me, I should allow the

Spaniards to place new difficulties in my way, by forming an alliance with England, and thereby giving to that power advantages greatly superior to those which she must lose by the declaration of war on the part of the Russians.

"I fear every thing from a revolution, of which I understand neither the object nor the causes. I should prefer, above all things, to avoid a war with Spain, which would be a sort of *sacrilege* (this was the expression he made use of). But I shall not hesitate to go to war with the House of Bourbon, if the Prince who is to govern Spain should adopt such a line of policy.

"I should then find myself in the same situation as that in which Louis XIV. stood when he interested himself about the succession of Charles II. It has been said that he was influenced by ambitious motives; but no. If he had not seated one of his grandsons on the throne of Spain, an Austrian Archduke would have been called to it. From that moment Spain would have become the natural ally of England; and Louis XIV., in any war in which he might have been engaged, with the one or the other of these two powers, would soon have had both together to contend with. How could he have defended himself in a maritime war, in which he would have been exposed to attacks in Flanders, Alsace, Italy, Roussillon, and Navarre.

"These considerations induced him to go to war in behalf of his grandson. He had, indeed, in his favour the will of Charles II., by which the Duke of Anjou was called to the throne of Spain: yet, in spite of the legitimacy of that claim, Austria went to war for the purpose of placing the Spanish crown on the head of the Archduke Charles.

"As long as Charles IV. reigned I could rely on peace, and I should have had but very few changes to require of him. We should soon have come to an understanding if the Prince of the Peace had not been put down, because we could

count on him. Thus you see the troops I have marched into Spain are merely raw recruits from the dépôts.

" But if Spain will adopt an opposite course, I shall not hesitate to follow it, because that country may one day or other be governed by a warlike prince, who will direct against us all the resources of the nation, and who will at last, perhaps, take it into his head to restore the French throne to his family. In that case, what would be the fate of France? It is for me to foresee the possibility of this event, and to take measures to prevent it.

" I say again, if the father wishes to re-ascend the throne, I am ready to second him. If, on the contrary, he persist in his abdication, give me such information as I may rely on respecting the sentiments of the son, and the individuals about him, whom I do not know.

" At all events, I shall not recognise the course which has been adopted for making him succeed his father. That act must be *purified* by the public sanction of King Charles IV. But if I can come to no arrangement either with the son or the father, I will make a clear house of them. I will assemble the Cortes, and begin the work of Louis XIV. over again. I am ready for that emergency.

" I am going to Bayonne; and if circumstances render it necessary, I will go to Madrid. But I shall not do that, unless I am absolutely obliged."

He then took leave of me, and I set out that day for Madrid.

On the road, I met, almost at every post, a Spanish courier proceeding to Paris with dispatches for the Spanish ambassador, whom the new King had accredited to the Emperor.

Near Poictiers I met the Count de Fernand-Nunez, the chamberlain of the court of Spain. He was the bearer of a

letter from King Ferdinand VII. to the Emperor, and was on his way to Paris.

At Bayonne I found the Infante Don Carlos, who was coming to meet the Emperor. He expected to have met him at Bayonne, from the intelligence he had received before his departure from Madrid. On my way through Biscay, I saw triumphal arches erected along the whole of the road through which the Emperor was expected to pass. The Spanish people were impatient for his arrival, and were every where exclaiming against their Prince of the Peace.

At Vittoria I met a French officer, who was sent by the Grand-duke of Berg to convey to the Emperor the sword of Francis I., which he had demanded from the arsenal of Madrid. This mode of recovering it was not calculated to soothe the mortification of seeing it transferred to the hands of a conqueror. Louis XIV. might have demanded it a hundred years before the Grand-duke of Berg; but that monarch wisely felt the propriety of respecting the pride of a nation even in its monuments of glory. The Spaniards were sensible to this affront, and it diminished the popularity of the Grand-duke of Berg. The Emperor constantly recommended him to act with the utmost caution. He was no doubt apprehensive of his fits of zeal and ambition; for my departure had been preceded by several couriers, and I had scarcely set out when fresh instructions were dispatched. The following letter will show the doubts which existed in the Emperor's mind, and the point of view in which the question presented itself to him.

Letter from the Emperor to the Grand-duke of Berg.

"March 29th, 1808.

"MONSIEUR THE GRAND-DUKE OF BERG,

"I fear you will mislead me respecting the situation of Spain, and that you will also deceive yourself. The event of

the 19th of March has rendered affairs exceedingly complicated, and I am greatly perplexed. You must not suppose that you are attacking an unarmed nation, and that the sight of your troops is sufficient for the subjugation of Spain. The revolution of the 20th of March proves that there is energy in the Spaniards. You have to do with an uncorrupted people. They have all the courage, and will have all the enthusiasm, that belong to men who are not worn out by political passions.

"Spain is under the dominion of the aristocracy and the clergy. If they become alarmed for their privileges and their existence, they will raise against us levies in mass, *which may render the war endless.* I have partizans; but if I present myself in the character of a conqueror, they will abandon me.

"The Prince of the Peace is detested because he is accused of having delivered up Spain to France. This is the grievance which has favoured the usurpation of Ferdinand. The popular party is the weakest.

"The Prince of the Asturias has none of the qualities requisite for the chief of a nation: but, nevertheless, to oppose us, he will be transformed into a hero. I will have no violence used towards the individuals of the royal family. It can never answer any end to render one's self odious, and to excite hatred. Spain has more than a hundred thousand men under arms, which are more than sufficient to maintain an internal war with advantage. Scattered about in different parts, this force may serve as rallying points for the insurrection of the whole country.

"I point out to you all the obstacles which are inevitable; but there are others which will present themselves to your observation.

"England will not let slip this opportunity of increasing our embarrassments. She daily sends off dispatches to her forces on the coasts of Portugal and in the Mediterranean; and she is enrolling Sicilians and Portuguese.

"The royal family not having quitted Spain to go to the Indies, there is nothing but a revolution that can change the condition of the country. Spain is, perhaps, of all countries in Europe, the least prepared for such an event. Those who see the monstrous vices of the government, and the anarchy which has superseded legal authority, are the smallest portion of the population. The majority profit by the vices and the anarchy.

"Acting for the interest of my empire, I can do a great deal of good to Spain. What are the best means to be pursued?

"Shall I go to Madrid? Shall I exercise the authority of a great mediator, and decide between the father and the son? It seems to me difficult to make Charles IV. reign. His government and his favourite are so unpopular, that they would not maintain themselves three months.

"Ferdinand is the enemy of France, and for that reason he has been made king. Placing him on the throne will serve the interest of the factions which have for twenty-five years past aimed at the annihilation of France. A family alliance would be a feeble tie. Queen Elizabeth and other French princesses were cruelly dealt with as soon as opportunities occurred for immolating them with impunity to atrocious vengeance. I think that there ought to be no precipitation, that the right way is to look to coming events . . . . . We must reinforce the corps on the frontiers of Portugal, and wait . . . . .

"I do not approve the course you have taken in so rashly occupying Madrid. The army should have been kept at the distance of ten leagues from the capital. You could not be certain that the people and the migistracy were disposed to recognise Ferdinand without a constitution. The Prince of the Peace must have partizans in public employments; besides, there must be an attachment from habit to the old King, which might have some consequences. By entering Madrid you have alarmed and irritated the Spaniards, and thereby

greatly contributed to advance the cause of Ferdinand. I have ordered Savary to visit the old King, and see what is going on there. He will communicate with you; I shall afterwards consider what course it will be proper to pursue. In the mean time this is what I think proper to prescribe for your conduct. You will not engage for my having an interview *in Spain* with Ferdinand, unless you judge the situation of things to be such that I ought to recognise him as King of Spain. You will keep on good terms with the King, the Queen, and Prince Godoy; you will exact for them, and pay them, the same honours as formerly. You will conduct yourself in such a manner that the Spaniards shall not suspect the course I am to adopt. That will not be difficult, *for I do not know it myself.*

"You will give the nobility and clergy to understand that if France should interfere in the affairs of Spain, their privileges and immunities shall be respected. You will tell them that the Emperor wishes to improve the political institutions of Spain, to place them on a level with the state of civilization in the rest of Europe, and to rescue the country from the dominion of favourites . . . You will tell the magistrates, the inhabitants of the towns, and the enlightened part of the population, that Spain must remodel the machinery of her government; that she must have laws to protect the citizens against despotism and the usurpations of feudalism; and institutions which are calculated to revive industry, agriculture, and the arts. You will paint to them the state of tranquillity and comfort which France enjoys, in spite of the wars in which she has been engaged;—the glory of her religion, which owes its restoration to the concordat which I signed with the Pope. You will point out the advantages they may derive from a political regeneration, which will insure order and peace at home, and respect and power abroad. Such must be the spirit of your language and your writings. Do nothing precipitately. I may wait at Bayonne.

I may cross the Pyrenees, and fortifying myself in the direction of Portugal, I may carry on the war in that quarter.

"I will look after your private interests; give yourself no concern about them .... Portugal will remain at my disposal .... Let no personal project occupy you, or influence your conduct; that would be injurious to my interests, and would injure you still more than me. You go too fast in your instructions of the 14th of March. The course which you prescribe to General Dupont is too precipitate. The event of the 19th of March has rendered changes necessary. You must make new arrangements, and you will receive instructions from my minister for foreign affairs. I desire that the most rigid discipline may be maintained: no pardon for little faults. The inhabitants must be treated with the greatest respect; and the churches and convents must be regarded as sacred.

"Our troops must avoid any engagement either with the corps of the Spanish army or with detachments. Not a shot more must be fired on either side.

"Let Solano go beyond Badajoz, and keep an eye upon him. Direct the marches of my army so as to keep it always at the distance of several leagues from the Spanish corps. *If war should break out, all will be lost.*

"The destiny of Spain must be decided by policy and negotiations. I recommend you to avoid explanations with Solano, as well as with the other Spanish generals and governors.

"You will send me two estafettes daily; and in case of very important events you must dispatch orderly officers to me. Send back immediately the Chamberlain De T . . . , who is the bearer of this dispatch, and give him a detailed report.

(Signed) "NAPOLEON."

On my arrival at Madrid I alighted at the palace of the Prince of the Peace, where the Grand-duke of Berg resided.

CHAPTER XIX.

The Grand-duke of Berg and the Prince of the Peace—Analogy of their situations—Charles IV. invokes the support of the Emperor Napoleon—His protest—Escoiquiz—The Duke del Infantado—My conversation with these two personages—My presentation to Ferdinand.

THE Grand-duke of Berg had managed the Emperor's affairs a little too much in his own way, and I perceived from his conversation that he wished to make the Spanish business subservient to his own interests. The mind of the Grand-duke was none of the most enlarged, and the first misfortunes which we sustained in Spain were in a great measure attributable to his levity and absurd hopes.

I learned from him that he had for several years maintained a correspondence with the Prince of the Peace. It would be difficult to assign a reason for this, and I can only account for it in the following manner.

They both stood on the same elevation of rank in the two countries; both were equally ambitious, and their fortunes were alike. These circumstances gave rise to friendship between them; but, on the part of Murat, it was a matter of calculation, as the sequel of these Memoirs will show; and on the part of the Prince of the Peace, it was finesse; for his ambition was not of the same kind as that of the Grand-duke of Berg. But as he was, at that time, the only really powerful man in Spain, either for intrigue or resolution, he thought that this correspondence, besides being attended with no inconvenience to him, might one day turn to his advantage, if the Grand-duke of Berg succeeded in the execution of the project he attributed to him.

On the reception of the letter which he had transmitted to the Emperor, Murat had put his troops in motion, and had

sent Adjutant-general Monthiou to receive the orders of Charles IV. But he had not set out before he received the following letter, which was addressed to him personally by the dethroned king. It was written in Italian :—

"SIR, MY DEAR BROTHER,

"I have informed your adjutant of all that has happened. I beg you will do me the service to communicate to the Emperor my prayer, that he will deliver the Prince of the Peace, who suffers only because he is the friend of France. It is our wish to go with him to the country that may be best suited to our health. For the present, we are going to Badajoz. I hope that before our departure you will send us an answer, if you cannot possibly see us; for I have no confidence in any one but you and the Emperor. In the mean while, I am your very affectionate brother and friend, with all my heart,

"CHARLES IV."

To this letter was added a note, no less urgent, written in the Queen's hand. It paints the anxiety of dethroned monarchs, and affords an idea of the violence which brought about the abdication. It is in the following terms :—

"The King, my husband, who desires me to write, because he cannot do so on account of the pain and swelling of his right hand, wishes to know whether the Grand-duke of Berg will undertake to employ all his influence with the Emperor to save the life of the Prince of the Peace, and to procure for him the attendance of some servants and chaplains; and whether the Grand-duke can go to see him, or at least console him; for he being his great friend, he places all his hopes in him and the Emperor, to whom he has always been attached. Will the Grand-duke obtain from the Emperor something to enable the King my husband, myself, and the Prince of the Peace, to live together in some place good for

our health, where we might be free from controul, and beyond the reach of intrigues, in which, certainly, we should take no share? The Emperor is generous; he is a hero; and he has always supported his faithful allies, and those who are oppressed. Nobody is more so than we three; and why? Because we have always been the Emperor's faithful allies. From my son we have nothing to hope but misery and persecution. Our enemies invent falsehoods, for the purpose of criminating, in the eyes of the public and the Emperor, that innocent and devoted friend of the French, of the Grand-duke, and of the Emperor, the Prince of the Peace. Let them not be credited. They have the power and the means of giving to falsehood the semblance of truth.

"Both the King and I wish to see and speak to the Grand-duke: may he afford us the protection he has in his power. We are thankful for the troops he sent us, and for all the marks of attention he has shown us. He may be fully convinced of the friendly sentiments we cherish, and have always cherished for him. We are in his power, and that of the Emperor; and we are persuaded that he will grant what we ask, which is all that we desire, being in the hands of so great and powerful a monarch and hero."

The Queen was not content with seeking the protection of the Grand-duke in the name of her husband, but she also wrote to solicit it in her own name.* The Queen of Etruria

* *Letter from the Queen of Spain to the Grand-duke* (written in French).

"Sir, my brother,

"I have no friend but your Imperial Highness. My dear husband has written to you to solicit your friendship, and we both trust in you alone. We join in entreating that you will give us the strongest proof of your friendship, which is to make the Emperor acquainted with the sincere attachment we have always cherished for him and for you, as well as for the French. The poor Prince of the Peace, who is here imprisoned and wounded for being our friend, and who is devoted to you, as well as to all France, is here on that account, and for having wished for your troops, as well as because he is our only friend. He wishes to see

joined her entreaties to those of her mother. The whole correspondence bears the stamp of consternation and dejection. The violence must have been great, and the threat long impending, to have reduced all this family to such a state of alarm, that they thought only of imploring an asylum in which their lives might be secure, and their physical wants provided for.

To the Grand-duke, Charles IV. was of course King of Spain, until his government acknowledged Ferdinand to be chief of the Spanish nation. He naturally yielded to the entreaties of the dethroned King, and to those of the Queen, which were still more urgent, and he took the Prince of the Peace under the protection of his banners. He did more; he sent a guard of honour to Charles IV., and openly declared that, until he should receive more ample information, he would acknowledge no other sovereign of Spain.

From this moment the party of the Prince of the Asturias, that is to say, the nation, and the Grand-duke of Berg, began to watch, and, consequently, to distrust each other.

I was very much dissatisfied with what I perceived to be the result of the conduct of the two conflicting parties, neither of which appreciated the situation of the general-in-chief. It

your Imperial Highness, and has constantly wished and hoped to see you. Will your Imperial Highness obtain for us permission to end our days tranquilly in some spot favourable to the King's health, which is delicate, as well as my own, with our friend, our only friend, the friend of your Imperial Highness, the poor Prince of the Peace? My daughter will be my interpreter, if I cannot have the satisfaction of seeing and speaking to your Imperial Highness. May she exert all her endeavours to see you, though it should be only for a moment, to-night, as she wishes.

"Your Imperial Highness' adjutant-commander will inform you of all we have told him. I hope your Imperial Highness will obtain what we wish for and solicit, and that you will pardon our scribbling, and omission of the usual forms, for I know not where I am; but be assured that it is not from any want of respect.

"Accept the assurance of our friendship, and I pray God, &c.

"Your very affectionate

"LOUISA."

was natural to suppose that an opinion would be formed of the nature of his instructions from the conduct he observed. He besides took the liberty of doing a number of things which his instructions did not direct. The Spaniards did not know what to conjecture; and I was not better able to come to any conclusion on the subject. Every thing I saw was inconsistent with what the Emperor had explained to me; however, I did not remain long in uncertainty. When the Grand-duke of Berg began to talk of our ambassador (M. de Beauharnois), he said things which were most unreasonable, and marked by passion. I had then no longer any doubt of the reality of the plans, which I at first only suspected, and I hastened to counteract them.

I called on our ambassador, who was much esteemed at Madrid, where he performed his duty properly, but did not intrigue. I found with him a tall Spanish priest, whom he presented to me, and whom I afterwards discovered to be the Canon Escoiquiz, the confessor of the Prince of the Asturias. He had come to confer with the French ambassador on the difficulties which surrounded King Ferdinand, and to express his desire to do whatever might satisfy the Emperor.

M. de Beauharnois was embarrassed, as he had not been accredited to the new king: he had received no instructions since the Aranjuez revolution; and my arrival was some relief to him, more especially as he had not been well treated by the Grand-duke of Berg.

The Confessor Escoiquiz, too, knowing that I had just come from Paris, was eager to confer with me, in order to be able afterwards to report the conversation to Ferdinand.

In fine, we had a long interview. At this time I knew nothing of Spain beyond its history and its geography. I had not the slightest idea of the intrigues which had, for a long series of years, distracted that unhappy country.

The cabinet of Madrid had been accustomed to negotiate

with handfulls of money, and it seemed to be thought that I was only come to make my price.

The Canon Escoiquiz inspired me with respect, on account of the attachment which he manifested for his Prince: he shed tears at the idea of any misfortune befalling him. Confidence was established between us, as far as could be expected at a first meeting. I began by expressing my astonishment at so sudden a change having taken place in Spain with respect to us, and a change for which there was no motive. The Canon resisted this imputation, and declared that the King had nothing so much at heart as to continue in good understanding with France. I told him that I could not avoid remarking that, hitherto, appearances had not corresponded with the good intentions of which he gave me assurance; because, what must strike an impartial observer, was the attitude of the Spanish government and of our army towards each other, which could not fail to occasion some irritation; and that there was, at least, a want of address in placing things in this situation at a time when Spain had need of the friendship of France in a revolution which she was just commencing, and which might turn out to be the counterpart of ours; especially, as to disturb its course, nothing more was necessary than to countenance the recall of the King. To carry this opposition into effect, I remarked, was an easy matter, since a great part of Spain, though well pleased at being rid of the Prince of the Peace, was, nevertheless, strongly attached to Charles IV.; and the great body of the nation did not approve the violent manner in which he had been deprived of the crown. As to the Emperor, I said that this event was the more disagreeable to him, as he was not prepared for it.

I added, that couriers, it was true, had been sent to the Emperor, but that he would receive none until he knew whether Charles IV. was satisfied; because it was with him he had engagements, and that it was fit he should see matters adjusted with regard to the father before he entered into any

engagements with the son. It will not be with his wish if he be obliged to interfere in a family question; but he will not permit it to be settled in a way prejudicial to him. It is the duty of those Spaniards who have access to the King to guard him against adopting a line of conduct which could only be the result of the bad conduct of some favourites; for we would not wait to take offence until we saw the Spanish armies on the Bidassoa.

The worthy Canon listened to me very attentively, and declared, as he said, from the bottom of his heart, that he was very sorry the Emperor had not sent another marshal to command the army in Spain; but that he could not disguise from me that the Grand-duke of Berg did not conduct himself with propriety towards the King. He was of course aware that, as yet, no recognition of the new government had taken place; but he entered into details of other grievances on the part of the Grand-duke; such as his insisting on the Prince of the Peace being set at liberty, and his circulating the report that the Emperor would not recognise the Prince of the Asturias as king. This spread alarm through the country, and damped the enthusiasm of the people in favour of the change. He concluded by requesting that I would permit him to report what had passed between us to the King, and that I would give him my own address.

The conversation which I had with our ambassador after the Canon's departure confirmed the opinion I had before formed that the Aranjuez revolution was the result of a conspiracy of long standing, which had been acted upon at a moment which appeared favourable for the execution of the plans of the party hostile to the Prince of the Peace. I now began to perceive the reason of the great eagerness which was shown to obtain the Emperor's sanction to what had taken place, because without his sanction this revolution could not be consolidated. There was more anxiety to obtain his recognition than that of any other sovereign; because

it was not apprehended that any of the other powers would refuse to acknowledge an order of things which might be expected to diminish the influence of France in Spain. At the same time, I ascertained that the abdication of Charles IV. had not been voluntary; indeed, had it been so, it would have been conducted with more solemnity, and accompanied by all the pompous ceremonials which a people so formal as the Spaniards introduce into all public transactions of importance.

Soon after I got home I received a visit from the Duke del Infantado, president of the council of Castile, and a particular favourite of the Prince of the Asturias. He came straight from Ferdinand, and had heard the report of the Canon Escoiquiz. Our conversation was much the same as that which passed between the Canon and me. He asked me if I wished to see the King. I answered that I should be proud of such an honour, if it was the King's pleasure; that I must observe that I had no mission, and that I could only repeat what I had already stated to Señor Escoiquiz and himself. He told me that he was very desirous that I should hear from the lips of the King himself the expression of the sentiments of regard which he felt for France, and for the Emperor in particular. To that I could have no objection; and I told him that I should await the King's orders.

As he was leaving me, he turned back and asked, "How will you treat him?" "What do you mean by that question?" said I. "In addressing him, will you say your Majesty?" replied the duke. I could not help smiling, and saying to the president of the council of Castile, that talking this way was like children's play; that it mattered little whether I saluted him with the title of majesty or sultan, as I was not accredited to him; that nothing could be founded on any expression which I might use; and that if the King did me the honour to receive me in the character of a traveller, I would use that mode of address which might be most agreeable to him; that if any thing else was required, I would decline the invitation.

I did not mistake the object of the Duke del Infantado's visit. He had been one of the victims of the Prince of the Peace, and had been recalled by the Prince of Asturias from his estate, to which he had been exiled. He was a good Spaniard, but ill-disposed towards the French government, to which he attributed all the mortifications to which he had been exposed.

I had scarcely been forty-eight hours at Madrid, when I perceived every where an extreme desire to obtain the sanction of France to the revolution of Aranjuez. Had that change been fair and voluntary, this anxiety would not have existed.

The Duke del Infantado came to me in the evening, and I think it was he who conducted me to King Ferdinand: perhaps it might be another officer of the court; but of this I am certain, that the Duke del Infantado called to inform me that the King would receive me after dinner.

I went to the palace, and was introduced without delay into the King's closet. There were present the *Canon* Escoiquiz, the Duke of San Carlos, and Señor Cevallos. I saluted him as I had told the Duke del Infantado I would, and expressed myself as follows:—

"Sire, the Emperor did not foresee that I should have the honour of being presented to your Majesty, and did not employ me on any mission to you. He has learned, in a summary manner, what passed at Aranjuez; but, as he was not prepared for it, he was astonished at the event, and has endeavoured to discover the cause.

"His attachment to the King, your father, makes the Emperor feel a warm interest in whatever may befall him; and at first he was afraid that the revolution which placed your Majesty on the throne, as it assumed the appearance of being directed against projects attributed to France, might be the signal of a rupture between two countries, which really need the friendship of each other: in that case the Emperor

is prepared. I believe, however, that it is not your Majesty's intention to make war on the Emperor. But, Sire, people are often carried away by the force of opinion when put in motion, and cannot recover themselves from the impulse; and it must be confessed that the least clear-sighted cannot have failed to observe a sudden revulsion here within the last fortnight. We are not yet placed on our trial, but the charge is preparing."

The King and his two counsellors interrupted me to observe: "No, no; we bear no ill-will to France. It was supposed that you meant to protect the Prince of the Peace, and that indisposed us against you. In fact the question as to him does not regard you at all."

"I know not that we meddle with that question. I can easily understand the effect it would produce."

It was remarked that the Grand-duke of Berg daily interfered in his favour.

"I know nothing of that; but, if it be so, it is a very trifling ground of quarrel. The Prince of the Peace was naturally an object of interest with us when he was the arbiter of every thing in Spain: such was the will of the King: we had nothing to say on the subject, and it was quite natural that we should have an understanding with the favourite; but in this respect the interest taken in him ceases with his credit.

"I can see only one case in which we would shield him by our protection; that would occur if Charles IV. claimed him; for our ties with him are not broken; and, until your Majesty be recognised, we will punctually observe our engagements with the King your father. As he has now placed himself under the protection of our army, it will do its duty if the King should require it.

"I repeat to your Majesty that the Emperor looks anxiously to the course which this event may take. It will be necessary for him to know whether your Majesty's sentiments are the same as those entertained by your father, and whether our political relations are to undergo any change."

The King, or, more strictly speaking, the Canon Escoiquiz, and the Duke de San Carlos replied earnestly—"Ah! good God, no! We wish to live with the Emperor on still better terms than before."

"I believe so, gentlemen; but facts should correspond with the assurances you give me; and you must allow that, hitherto, appearances are not in your favour. I shall give a faithful account both of facts and assurances. Moreover, the Emperor feels so much interest about what is passing in Spain, that he has resolved to come to the frontier, and I am informed that he has already left Paris for that purpose. He will receive my courier on the road, as well as others with dispatches, addressed to him by the different authorities here. There is reason to fear that many reports will not be so favourable as you seem to expect, and that the Emperor may adopt some course before a final arrangement be made with Charles IV.; because the Emperor knows what he must lose by his removal from the government, and he cannot be at ease on that subject until he know on what footing he is to stand with his successor. You now know the disposition of mind in which I left the Emperor."

Here my audience terminated, and I took my leave.

CHAPTER XX.

The King and Queen of Spain claim the support of the Grand-duke of Berg—Considerations which determine Ferdinand to proceed to Bayonne—He stops at Vittoria—Conversation with his ministers—Reflections on the report of Cevallos.

I HAD occasionally some conversation with the Grand-duke of Berg, who, on his part, carried on a very active correspondence with Charles IV., the Queen, and Prince of the

Peace, who were at Aranjuez, and who often wrote to him several times in one day. The general who commanded the French division at Aranjuez served as a medium of communication between the parties. The letters of the royal personages, and the details respecting them, transmitted by the general, were really of a distressing character. In a dispatch, dated March 23rd, he says :—

"*In pursuance of your Imperial Highness'* orders, I repaired to Aranjuez with your *Highness'* letter to the Queen of Etruria. It was eight in the morning, and the Queen was not up. She rose, however, immediately, and I was admitted. She requested me to wait a little, until she read the letter to the King and the Queen. In about half an hour she returned with the King and Queen of Spain.

"Her Majesty told me that she thanked your Imperial Highness for the interest you take in their misfortunes, which were the more lamentable, inasmuch as they were the work of a son. The King said that the revolution had been brought about by deep contrivance; that much money had been distributed; and that the principal actors in it were his son and Cavallero, the minister of justice; that he had been compelled to abdicate to save the Queen's and his own life; that he knew they were to be assassinated, during the night, if he did not comply; that the conduct of the Prince of Asturias was most horrible; but that, as he had perceived the ardent desire of the prince to reign, and as he was himself fast approaching his sixtieth year, he had agreed to resign the crown to him, on his marriage with a French princess, which the King earnestly desired to see take place.

"The King added, that the Prince of Asturias wished him to retire with the Queen to Badajos, on the frontiers of Portugal; that he had informed the Prince that the climate of Badajos would not suit his health, and begged to be allowed to choose another place of residence; that he wished the Emperor's permission to purchase an estate in France,

whither he wished to go and end his days. The Queen also told me, that she had beseeched her son to delay their removal to Badajos, but had obtained no concession from him, and that they were to set off on Monday next.

"At the moment when I was about to take leave of their Majesties, the King said to me—'I have written to the Emperor, in whose hands I place my destiny. I intended to send the letter by a courier, but I cannot have a better opportunity of forwarding it than through you.' The King then went to his closet, and soon returned, holding in his hand the enclosed letter, which he delivered to me, saying, 'My situation is most wretched. They have taken the Prince of the Peace from me, and mean to put him to death. They can charge him with no crime, except that of having been all his life faithful to me.' He added, 'that he had resorted to every kind of solicitation to save the life of his unfortunate friend, but that a deaf ear had been turned to all his prayers, which were answered by a spirit of vengeance; and that the death of the Prince of the Peace would bring on his, for he could not survive him.'"

Every evening the Grand-duke visited Ferdinand's sister, the Queen of Etruria, who inhabited the palace of Madrid along with her brother. That princess wished her father not to retire. She saw that she must lose by that measure much of her consideration, her hopes, and the prospects of her children; and consequently she concealed nothing from the Grand-duke that he wished to know respecting the despotism of her brother, with whom she lived. The bad intentions of Ferdinand towards France became thus perfectly well known; and the communications of the Queen of Etruria frequently formed the subject of reports transmitted to the Emperor. Seeing whence the information came, he could acquire from it no other idea respecting the events in Spain than that which he had already formed: nevertheless, he did

not confide in these reports exclusively, and they therefore increased his impatience to ascertain the precise truth.

The desire shown by the Grand-duke of Berg for the departure of Ferdinand could not fail to displease him. I am therefore persuaded, that his prompt resolution to treat on his own affairs personally, was the result of an apprehension that the Emperor might form a decision on information received from persons unfavourable to him, and the fear that his father, who he knew had protested against his abdication, if he re-ascended the throne, would again choose for his minister the Prince of the Peace, whose resentment would have placed the Prince of the Asturias in a very disagreeable situation.

I do not know what passed in the council in which the journey to Bayonne was resolved on; but the observations I have made could not fail to be among the first points taken into consideration.

I called on the Duke del Infantado, in return for the visit I had received from him. He informed me that the King was to commence his journey on the following day; adding, that he would have gone that very day had not some previous time been required for stationing relays on the road.

I asked leave to accompany the King, solely for this reason. I had come from Bayonne to Madrid on horseback, which was then the usual mode of travelling in Spain. I had not been long arrived, and it was now necessary to go back, that I might be with the Emperor as soon as Ferdinand; but I did not wish to travel over again the same road in the same manner. I therefore requested the King's grand equerry to include in the relays harness and draught-horses for me. He consented; and this is the way in which my carriage happened to be in the suite of the King.

The Duke del Infantado did not seem to like this journey. Was it because he suspected a snare was laid, or that he was afraid the Emperor had been informed of certain particulars

respecting which it would be difficult to give a satisfactory explanation? How this might be I know not; but the impression still remains on my mind that he was dissatisfied. Snare there was none, and he had no reason to suspect any; but if he really thought he had grounds for suspicion, it then becomes impossible to excuse his neglect in not opposing, with all the energy of which he was capable, a journey which he believed dangerous to the King. If he had other fears, he should have asked his conscience whether they were well founded. It was there only he could find reason to be satisfied with himself.

These equivocal appearances on the part of a court which was earnestly seeking the support of ours, were not calculated to create confidence; but, on the contrary, counselled a prudent foresight as to any engagements into which it might be proposed that we should enter.

I informed the Grand-duke of Berg of the King's determination. I found with him, when I made the communication, M. de la Forest, our last minister in Prussia. The Emperor had sent him to obtain farther information as to what was passing at Madrid. He, doubtless, had instructions for any case which could arise.

Ferdinand VII. took his departure at the time he had appointed, leaving his uncle, Don Antonio, in charge of the government. I followed the King, who halted on the first day at Buitrago, where I had the honour of dining with him. Next day he proceeded on to Arnada-del-Duero, and the third day's stage brought him to Burgos. We found in that town several Spaniards of rank, among the rest Señores Valdez and Cuesta, both decided partizans of the revolution against the Prince of the Peace, and declared enemies of France. The King received them in a more distinguished manner than any other persons, and gave them particular marks of his favour. We had at Burgos a small corps commanded by Marshal Bessières, Duke of Istria. The marshal was natu-

rally an acute observer; and though it was no part of our duty to confer on what was going forward, he did not conceal from me his opinion that the state of things around him was far from satisfactory.

I left the King in a transport of joy at receiving, for the first time, public honours from the people, and did not go to his residence till the evening to inquire at what hour he intended to leave Burgos on the following day. When I was informed, I returned to converse with Marshal Bessières, and to prepare him for paying due respect to the King at the moment of his departure, which he did, by ordering his troops under arms, and firing salutes of artillery.

The King arrived at Vittoria, where he was received with the same demonstrations as at Burgos, and where the civil and military authorities of the provinces of Biscay and Alava were assembled.

We had also at Vittoria a division under the command of General Verdier.

In the evening I repaired to the King's quarters as I had done at Burgos to fix the hour of the departure, which I supposed would take place next day. The King did not receive me, and sent Señor Cevallos to inform me that he was fatigued.

On this occasion ensued the conversation which is mentioned by Señor Cevallos in his Memorial,* where it is related in an extraordinary way for a man of sense accustomed to business. The Memorial is written in the style of a man who is more anxious to justify himself in the eyes of a violent party, with whom he felt it a matter of importance to be reconciled, rather than in the style of an impartial man who had nothing to fear from a disclosure of the truth. The following is a correct statement of what took place :—

The King's apartments were very limited. Excepting the

* Published at the beginning of 1809.

room which opened into his bed-chamber, there was no other in which we could converse.

Señor Cevallos conducted me into the room in which the Canon Escoiquiz was in bed. He was ill, but he nevertheless took part in our conversation, at which were also present the Dukes del Infantado and San Carlos.

Señor Cevallos spoke first, and said in rather an unpolite tone:—"Sir, the King will go no farther. It was not even his intention to have come thus far. However, his Majesty will stay here for the Emperor if he is coming; but he has not yet arrived at Bayonne; and it is not proper that the King of Spain should go and wait for him. But the Emperor must at least inform him of his arrival."

Señor Cevallos spoke French badly, and as I could not speak Spanish, the Duke del Infantado was often obliged to answer for Señor Cevallos.

"Sir," I replied, "the King has a right to remain where he pleases, as he had also a right to depart. That resolution was adopted in his council, where, doubtless, that which you now communicate to me has also been adopted. I have, however, to regret that this resolution has been changed, because, from the information I received at Madrid respecting the King's intention of going to meet the Emperor, I announced the circumstance, informing the Emperor of his Majesty's departure, and sending him the itinerary of his route. I shall appear like a man who has either obtained no information, or who has been duped. And at all events, this change of determination on the part of the King's council must necessarily give rise to many conjectures. Now that I am conversing on this part of your affairs (which my mission does not authorise me to touch upon, as I informed the King when I had the honour to be presented to him), can you inform me of the reasons which have occasioned the King's journey to be suspended?"

"We have not suspended it," said Señor Cevallos. "The

King was not to go even to Burgos, and yet he has come thus far."

"Sir," replied I, "I am not to be deceived. The King set out from Madrid with the intention of going to see the Emperor, and you cannot deny that the relays are even now in readiness on the road between this and Bayonne. Do you suppose I am not aware of this? There is a reason for this change. You may or may not explain the reason, according as you think fit; but if you endeavour to deceive me by pretending that it is merely a question of etiquette, I may believe you or not as I please; and I am not to be duped. I have not urged your departure, and I began by telling you that I was not accredited to your master in any official character.

"Since you wish to maintain such strict etiquette with regard to the situation of the King, we shall observe etiquette on our side, which will also give rise to difficulties. Thus the two sovereigns will go no farther than the two extremities of the bridge of the Bidassoa."

Cevallos.—"That is as it should be, and what has taken place before."

— "Very well, gentlemen, we must have the length of the bridge exactly measured, so that each may take an equal number of steps. To this, allow me to add, that the Emperor has manifested no wish for this ceremonious visit. You may go to Irun;* but that will not oblige him to go to Saint-Jean de Luz.† Do you expect him to acknowledge you King of Spain, and to do you fealty and homage for Roussillon? In the Emperor's eyes, Sir, the throne of Spain is not vacant. Charles IV. is still seated on it. If he call us to his aid, he will find us ready to serve him. What is the use then of making it a matter of such importance to settle what should

* The last town in Spain on the Bayonne side.

† The last town in France.

be done and what should not be done? The etiquette of which you are so tenacious cannot create difficulties in a question with which it has no connexion. If etiquette is to be the guide of your conduct, the King perhaps should not have been permitted to leave Madrid under such circumstances. If, as is more probable, you have had other reasons for inducing the King to come to this determination, it is for you to judge whether you have done enough in bringing him here, and to reflect on the consequences of a reserve, from which we may draw what inference we please, since you decline giving any explanation."

The Canon Escoiquiz, who was in bed, observed that it was useless to conceal from me the uneasiness which was felt; that it was understood on all sides that the Emperor was unfavourably disposed towards the King, and that he would not acknowledge him. "How unfortunate it would be," he added, "if I and these gentlemen, who wish to serve *him*, should be the cause of his ruin!"—This idea, he said, *had occurred* to them, and he could not disguise the grief it occasioned.

"To this," said I, "I have no reply to make. I have received no communication since my departure from Paris, and I am not authorised to give to the Emperor's instructions any other interpretation than that which is warranted by the sentiments he expressed on sending me to Spain. I then observed nothing that seemed to augur what you apprehend. But if, since then, the King has received any intimation, as I am ignorant of its nature, I cannot judge of it. You did not express this apprehension on quitting Madrid; it has come upon you since. Take care that you do not draw down upon yourselves the evil which you dread. I cannot cure you of fear; it is for you to ascertain whether it is founded."

Cevallos.—"But we do not want the Emperor's assistance. We can arrange matters very well without it. We want to have nothing to do with him."

— "That is a bad answer, Sir. People cannot do exactly as they please in this world; and if the Emperor chooses to have any thing to do with you, you must, whether you like it or not, have to do with him."

Cevallos.—"But can you be answerable for the Emperor's acknowledging the King?"

— "I know nothing about it; I have no authority either to affirm or contradict. Whatever I may say on this subject is nothing to the purpose, as I do not know the Emperor's determination. But I believe on my conscience that he wishes, above all things, to avoid going to war with Spain. When speaking to me about it, he said he should regard it as a *sacrilegious war*. But I am persuaded that his determination will be formed from what he learns, and that he will judge by what he sees. All this depends on you. Examine your conscience, and see whether your intentions correspond with the Emperor's wishes. Above all, do not attempt to deceive him; you know that is no easy matter."

Cevallos.—"The King entertains the best intentions towards France, but he will not depend on her. France has already interfered too much in our affairs. There must be an end of it."

— "This may be understood in various ways. Do you wish to give us a dismissal, or to take one for yourselves? Without being authorised, I will take upon me to accede to either the one or the other, and I will leave you, gentlemen, to answer for the consequences."

Cevallos.—"But I do not see why the Emperor wishes to interfere in our affairs:—have we broken our alliance in any way?"

— "The Emperor interferes in your affairs because they have become the affairs of Spain, and the affairs of Spain are connected with his. It matters not to him who reigns in Spain, if his relations with the country remain uninjured. Finally, Sir, you either propose to resist him, in which case,

he will form his determination; or you intend to satisfy him; and if so, you cannot hesitate to give him a proof of your intention, since you, Señor Cevallos, in particular, know better than any of these gentlemen what the Emperor wishes; having been attached to the Prince of the Peace, you know all our most intimate relations with your country. I do not understand the objections you urge, and I cannot but infer that they conceal some bad design.

"Do you intend to go to war? We shall soon be ready for you.

"Do you suspect us of bad intentions towards the King? It would be rather too late to talk of being afraid; for, in that case, how would you justify yourselves for having brought the King hither in the midst of our troops? Is he not under our guard, and at our disposal? We have one division of infantry here, one at Brivierca, and one at Burgos. If you commence hostilities, tell me in what direction you would retire.

"Do you intend to continue towards us the same line of policy which Spain maintained under the father of King Ferdinand? If so, whence all your alarms, which are only calculated to excite apprehensions in us? If the King be disposed to satisfy the Emperor, why should he fear to meet him in any place whatever, and to come to a frank explanation with him respecting the circumstances which led to his accession, as well as the events that may ensue from it? It appears to me that this conduct would be consistent with the sentiments which induced the Prince of the Asturias to appeal to the Emperor to intercede between him and his offended father This is a recent affair. Among all the fancies with which you have been tormenting yourselves, did it never occur to you that the first reception of the Emperor might be somewhat cold?* He has the seniority in age and in right; but

* Señor Cevallos, in his Memorial, states as the reason which induced the King to go to Bayonne, the reply which here closes my dialogue with him. He

the rules of etiquette being observed, and the national interests arranged in a way suitable to our old alliance, why should he not be ready to acknowledge King Ferdinand? Show me the impossibility of this. It depends more on you than on the Emperor.

"I am now going to rejoin him. I shall tell him all that is to be feared, as well as all that is to be hoped; and I doubt not that he will send me back again in two or three days."

I quitted these gentlemen to prepare for my journey to Bayonne.

indeed gives it in a way which is rather calculated to excite ridicule, than to make it appear a sufficient motive for authorising the King's departure.

Señor Cevallos knows very well that he has obscured the truth by his manner of relating the circumstance. Who could know better than he whether it was the King's intention to satisfy France? He could not be ignorant of what France might exact and desire from Spain, he having taken part in the most intimate political relations between the two countries; and therefore who could better judge than he whence the difficulty would arise, if indeed there should be any? I will not do him the injustice to suppose that he did not know it, or that it had escaped his observation: the many proofs he has given of his shrewdness in these matters preclude such a supposition. It was doubtless because he knew both the obverse and reverse of the medal that he endeavoured to point out difficulties to me; but here I enjoyed the advantage of a man who, having nothing to conceal, employs a candid argument, more strong than that of his opponent. Señor Cevallos was doubtless too shrewd to be the dupe of any one; but that is no reason why I should be his.

Even supposing that the reply which he attributes to me were correct, he knows better than I, whether I was deceiving myself or deceiving him, since he knew our affairs with Spain. How then will he justify himself for listening to an argument which he knew could not be true; for consenting to the King's departure? There is something here which can only be explained in two ways. Either Señor Cevallos mistated my reply, and this I affirm he did; or he betrayed the King for the purpose of embracing the new interests to which he wished to attach himself; and thus his Memorial is merely a pamphlet, which he wrote in haste, to screen himself from the resentment of his countrymen, to which, as will be seen in the course of these Memoirs, he was exposed.

CHAPTER XXI.

Señor Cevallos—Return to Bayonne—The Emperor's arrival in that city—I render him an account of my mission—The Emperor's intentions.

I HAD brought with me from Paris the eldest son of M. Hervas. He had occasion to go to Madrid, and his company was very advantageous to me, as I did not understand a word of Spanish. He also accompanied me on my return to Bayonne.

While the postilions were preparing my carriage and seeking the mules, which is by no means the business of a moment in Spain, I asked M. Hervas to call on Señor Cevallos in my name, and tell him that I was quite at a loss to understand the opposition I had experienced on his part, which was the more extraordinary in being made by him, from whom, had there been any thing obscure or equivocal in my mission, I had little reason to expect obstruction, because, ever since he had been in office in Spain, he had openly professed himself devoted to the interests of France; that he had been very recently employed by the Prince of the Peace in the arrangements lately concluded at Fontainebleau between France and Spain; that he could not persuade himself that the faction which had overthrown the Prince of the Peace was ignorant of the confidence that prince had reposed in him, or that when he had served the purpose of that faction, he would escape the resentment directed against every one connected with the fallen minister, whose sister he had married; that, finally, at all events he was exposing himself to the just resentment of France for counteracting the plans which he had long assisted in promoting.

M. Hervas waited on Cevallos, and delivered my message. It will shortly be seen that the opinion of the latter was

altogether different from that which he expressed on this occasion.

I set out for Bayonne, where I arrived some hours before the Emperor, who was expected from Bourdeaux. M. de Champagny, who was then minister for foreign affairs, had arrived, and I explained to him, at great length, the embarrassments which I foresaw must be experienced before harmony could be established between us and Spain. I told him that I should disguise nothing from the Emperor in giving him the details of my mission; and that, without in any way prejudicing the course which he might adopt to re-establish himself in Spain on the same footing in which he stood before the revolution, in which he had been obliged to interfere, I should call his attention to the opposition he will every where encounter; that plans had presumptuously been attributed to him, and openly talked of at the Grand-duke of Berg's; that I knew not how to credit these alleged projects, as it did not appear to me that the Emperor had formed any resolution; that I knew not whether he had since changed his opinion, but that it was necessary to distrust the impression which the Grand-duke of Berg would not fail to endeavour to give him, both with respect to individuals and the disposition of the country; and that he had already caused a marked alteration of the sentiments manifested by the Spaniards for France and the Emperor before he had any command in the country.

I added, that this Spanish revolution might lead the Emperor much farther than was anticipated, and that I was convinced the state of the country had been falsely viewed through the medium of the intrigues by which it was governed under our protection; but that now, when the idol (the Prince of the Peace) was cast down, we should see the Spanish people act a part which others might be induced to imitate.

The Emperor arrived that evening, and had a long interview with M. de Champagny, who reported my conversation

to him. I was soon sent for. The Emperor had as yet received from Spain only the daily reports of the Grand-duke of Berg, in whose knowledge he had much less confidence than in his courage at a moment of danger. He had also received all the letters which Charles IV. and the Queen had written to the Grand-duke. All this correspondence occupied his mind, but did not throw sufficient light on the question. He made me stop a great part of the night, and relate to him all that I had seen and done. He was disappointed at the information I gave him, and particularly displeased at the projects attributed to him. I observed that these reports were the consequence of what was passing around the Grand-duke of Berg; adding, that if he did not act according to instructions, it would be necessary to adopt precautions to prevent much embarrassment which might occur.

The Emperor said, "But tell me what sort of a man is the Prince of the Asturias. Does he govern, or is he governed? In what manner can I arrange matters with him, or must I renounce the expectation of doing so? I am not inclined to the latter alternative, because, as you say, it would lead to war."

I answered—"Sire, I have had abundant assurances of the best intentions; as to promises, I have had pockets full, both from the Prince and his ministers; but as to warranting their sincerity, that I beg to be excused from doing:" and I related to him all that had passed, as I have already stated it.

"There is no doubt," I added, "that the Aranjuez revolution was contrary to the will of Charles IV.; and, consequently, that his abdication was compulsory. This would be evident enough, were there no other proof than the anxiety of Charles IV. to put himself under the protection of our troops, who, in fact, guard him in the palace of Aranjuez; and, on the other hand, the equal anxiety which the Prince of the Asturias testifies to obtain your Majesty's sanction to the event which has placed him on the throne; because, that being procured, he

will have no difficulty in obtaining the assent of the other powers of Europe.

"I do not think that you will succeed in placing yourself on the same footing in Spain with Prince Ferdinand as that on which you stood with his father, notwithstanding that he promises it. To do so does not depend on him; for it is the hope held out to his adherents of throwing off the yoke of France, which has rendered public opinion favourable to him, and made him at the present moment so popular, that to oppose him would be to oppose the nation, which would be entirely against us on this point.

"He manifests the best disposition towards your Majesty; but he is distracted by being repeatedly told that you will not recognise him, and that when once he enters Bayonne he will never be allowed to go back again. There is difficulty in making him believe this; but, nevertheless, it makes some impression on his mind, and appears to have made him adopt the resolution of stopping at Vittoria.

"As to governing by himself, that he never can do. He has received a palace education, and has not the slightest idea of what the business of government is. His ministers will do every thing while he reigns; and those ministers appear to me to entertain principles which will render them unfavourable to us."

The Emperor replied—"This business looks bad. But how has he learned that I will not recognise him? That will depend on himself. If not, I will replace his father on the throne. Matters went on so well with the father, before I heard of the projects of this Prince of the Asturias, that I used to pray that he might live a hundred years. But if I must ultimately be embroiled with the son, I shall not begin by doing that which he so anxiously desires. I certainly like better to see one of my friends than one of my enemies on the throne of Spain. Whence comes this dread which he has conceived of me?"

—"Several causes have concurred to produce it. First, his situation, which fills him with anxiety; perhaps he feels some self-reproach. Of this I know nothing; but as he is naturally very timid, he is dreadfully afraid of the Grand-duke of Berg, who, he complains, wishes to render him unpopular, and to do him personal injury. This conduct, which he attributes to the Grand-duke, he supposes is the consequence of orders from your Majesty, and that renders him suspicious.

"For example, the Grand-duke daily insists on the Prince of the Peace being set at liberty. He makes his safety the first object of his solicitude, and seems to have come to Spain for no other purpose but to deliver him; while, on the other hand, he tries to turn every thing against the Prince of the Asturias. There is, at least, a want of address in thus showing a wish to detach the nation from a prince who is at this moment so very popular, and to protect another who is *the* object of general execration. The consequence is, a *cry of* vengeance against us, which inflames all heads, and *prepares* future troubles."

The Emperor said: "I never gave a hint which could tend to produce what you describe. The Grand-duke of Berg must be quite a fool."

—"I do not believe him to be so much of a fool; but he enters into many calculations, in doing which he often deceives himself, and I shall not be surprised if he have looked at the business as something which might be turned to his advantage. He appears to have taken it into his head that he will succeed the King of Spain."

The Emperor laughed. He asked me what the ministers of Prince Ferdinand thought of affairs.

"The Prince's ministers are as much alarmed as he is, and participate in the resolution which he has adopted of stopping at Vittoria, after having, however, advised him to return to Madrid. I believe that it was at Burgos that they began to entertain apprehensions, in consequence of reports which they

heard in that town, as well as of dispatches which they received from Madrid, whence a courier was daily dispatched to them. I believe that, after the departure of the King, the Grand-duke of Berg was inclined to act rather too hastily, and that accounts of his proceedings were sent to Ferdinand.

"The ministers of the Prince of the Asturias are men entirely devoted to a party. The manner in which they look at this revolution will not suit us, at least so I think. Besides, the greater part of them are not very well acquainted with the affairs of their country, and there must be in Spain many men of greater ability. If your Majesty fall upon any means of calling those ministers to your presence, you would find great difficulty in getting at the truth, especially as there is no certainty that the Prince of the Asturias will come to Bayonne."

—"However, we must come to an understanding here, or somewhere else; otherwise, how can an arrangement be concluded."

—"It will then be necessary for your Majesty to give him security."

It was late; the Emperor was fatigued, and he dismissed me, saying, "We shall think of that to-morrow; night brings counsel. I should have no difficulty in writing to him if it were clear that we must come to an understanding; but, if the contrary should be the case, he would be entitled to say that I had drawn him into a snare; and, in fact, things would have that appearance. On the other hand, if he do not come, I shall march to confer with the father, and assemble the Cortes at Madrid. Had the Prince of the Asturias been well advised, I should have found him here; but from what you say, I suppose he has been frightened by the Grand-duke of Berg. Go you and take some rest, and be ready to set off to-morrow."

The Emperor sent for me next morning after he had received dispatches from Madrid. He sent an answer to these

dispatches by a courier who accompanied me, and gave me a letter addressed to the Prince of the Asturias, saying—"Find him, and deliver this letter. Let him reflect upon it. There is no occasion for employing any finesse; the business interests him more than it does me. He may act as he pleases. On your answer, or his silence, I shall take my course, as well as measures to prevent him going any where except to his father." He added, "You see to what bad advice leads. Here is a prince who, perhaps, in a few days will cease to reign, or who will bring on a war between Spain and France. Good heavens! how much are nations to be pitied when they fall into such hands! Make all the haste you can."

The Emperor wrote to the Grand-duke of Berg. He ordered him to take care that no attempt was made on the life of the Prince of the Peace, to make him be delivered up, and to take measures for sending him safely to Bayonne. He also directed the Grand-duke to send to him Señor Dazenza, minister for the Indies, and several other Spaniards of ability and consideration. He wished to consult them before he decided on any thing.

CHAPTER XXII.

Ferdinand dissuaded from proceeding on his journey—Urquijo—His objections to the policy of Ferdinand's ministers—The Emperor Napoleon's letter to Ferdinand.

I LOST no time in returning to Vittoria, but found every thing changed there. A number of Spaniards had gathered round Ferdinand. They represented to him the imprudence of the course he had taken, and the facility with which he

might retrace his steps; and though they had not made him abandon his resolution to proceed, they had at least shaken it. Urquijo, formerly a minister under Charles IV., was the most vehement in the prediction of danger on passing the frontier. He committed to writing an account of the discussion which he had with Ferdinand's counsellors on this subject; and I insert it here, because it proves that neither threats nor deceptions were employed to induce the Prince to prosecute his journey, and that whatever was done, was spontaneously resolved on by himself or his ministers. The following is the document:—

"To Don Gregorio de la Cuesta, Captain-general of Old Castile.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"Yesterday, at noon, I received the letter, dated the 11th, which you sent me by express. I immediately mounted my horse, and arrived here at half-past three in the afternoon. Our friend Mazzanedo could not accompany me, because he was confined to his bed by a severe fit of the gout; and fortunate this was for him: for, besides the inutility of the journey, he would have had to witness very disagreeable scenes here. You stated to me in your letter, that from what you had heard said by King Ferdinand and his suite with regard to me, you were certain I should be very well received; and that you did not doubt that through my persuasion, and the information which must then have been received, so dangerous a journey would be given up, and that the King would go no farther.

"As to the first point, your prediction was perfectly right; and I could not myself anticipate any thing else, since the King was no sooner seated on the throne than he spontaneously declared every thing unjust and arbitrary which I had suffered through the agency even of Cevallos, who was one of the ministers who signed the orders for all the vexa-

tions directed against me during seven years. On my arrival I presented myself to his Majesty, who had entered the town only half an hour before. He received me most graciously, bestowed on me marks of honourable distinction, and invited me to dine with him. Those who accompanied him behaved to me with great politeness, particularly the Dukes of San Carlos and del Infantado. I had also the pleasure of meeting my friends Muzquiz and Labrador.

"The second part of the business is most afflicting. I believe they are all blind, and rushing on to inevitable ruin. I explained to them the manner in which the *Moniteur* (which, it appears, they had not rightly understood) related the tumult at Aranjuez, which caused the abdication of Charles IV. I remarked to them that the language of the French gazettes served to indicate the designs of the Emperor. I reminded them of the proclamation addressed to the Spaniards in 1805, because since then I had never ceased to believe that Napoleon intended to extinguish the *reigning* dynasty of Spain, in consequence of his considering its existence incompatible with the elevation of his own dynasty. I observed that this design had only been suspended to wait for a favourable opportunity, which had just presented itself on the occurrence of the unfortunate affair between the father and the son at the Escurial; that the plans of the Emperor were evident from the manner in which he had filled Spain with troops, and taken possession of the fortresses, the arsenals, and the capital; that in this very town of Vittoria, the King and all who accompanied him were in a kind of prison, and watched by General Savary; and that the military dispositions which I had observed since my arrival, the posts occupied by the troops, and the situation of the barracks, were all circumstances which confirmed my suspicions.

"After stating all this, I asked the King's ministers what was the object of their journey; how they could think of making the sovereign of so great a monarchy as that of Spain

and the Indies submit to such a public degradation of his dignity; why he was conducted towards a foreign land without any invitation—without any preparation—without the etiquette which ought to be observed in such cases—and without having been recognised king, as he was still called by the French the Prince of the Asturias. I called to their recollection what had been done at the Isle of Pheasants in the Pyrenees, where so many precautions were taken for the interview appointed between the sovereigns of Spain and France. I reminded them that the number of troops on each side of the Bidassoa was equal, and that every thing was conducted with such scrupulous care, that even the armour was regulated.

"You will hear with astonishment, my dear friend, that all the answer I received was, that they intended to satisfy the ambition of the Emperor by some cessions of territory and of some commercial advantages. I could not prevent myself from saying on hearing this—'You may then give him the whole of Spain.'

"Some talked of eternal war between the two nations; of constructing two impregnable fortresses in each of the Pyrenees; of having always a hundred and fifty thousand men under arms; and a thousand other chimeras. I merely observed that, on the side of the western Pyrenees, there was only one strong place, which was Pampeluna; and that, according to the opinion of the most experienced generals, and among the rest of my friends, General Vnutia (as I myself had heard him say), it was capable of making very little resistance; that we had not the hundred and fifty thousand men; that a great part of the army had been sent to the north under the pretext of the treaty of alliance; that armies were not raised nor fortresses built in a day; that the idea of perpetual war is insanity—for nations had their natural relations, and ours were very intimate and very important with France; that it was absurd to confound the relations of countries with

the men temporarily placed at the head of states; and finally, that the object now in view was to remove the Bourbon dynasty from Spain, in imitation of the example set by Louis XIV., and to establish the present French dynasty; and that they were themselves inviting the Emperor to set about the work.

"The Duke del Infantado (on whom, I believe, my words made the most impression), who seemed to feel the force of my observations, said—"Can it be possible that a hero such as Napoleon would disgrace himself by such an action as you suppose, when the King, with perfect good faith, places himself in his hands?" I replied—"Read Plutarch, and you will find that all the much-boasted heroes of Greece and Rome raised themselves to the height of their glory and renown upon thousands of dead bodies; but all that is forgotten, and history is read without attention, and the results only are looked at with respect and astonishment." I told him that he *ought* to recollect the crowns which Charles V. had seized, *the* cruelties which he had committed on sovereigns who *had* become his prisoners, either by war or perfidy; and that, notwithstanding all those atrocious acts, he was *still* reckoned among the number of heroes; that he ought *also* to remember that we had acted in the same way towards the emperors and kings of America; and that if we chose to defend those transactions under the pretext of religion, the like might now with equal justice be defended on the score of policy; that this defence might be made for the origin of all the dynasties in the universe; that in the early history of Spain there were examples of the assassination of kings by usurpers who had afterwards seated themselves on the throne; and that even at more advanced periods we had the example of that committed by the Bastard Henriquez II., and the exclusion of the family of Henry IV.; that the Austrian and Bourbon dynasties had been established after incest and crimes; and that consequently they ought to have no confidence in heroes,

nor permit Ferdinand to advance a single step nearer to France.

"But what apparent motive," said the Duke, "could justify the conduct which you assign to the Emperor?" I again replied, "that the language of the *Moniteur* convinced me that he would not recognise Ferdinand; that the *Moniteur* stated the abdication of the father to have taken place in the midst of a popular and military tumult; and that Charles IV. would himself acknowledge such to be the fact, if called upon to do so; that without noticing what had happened to Juan I., king of Castile, there had been two abdications during the Austrian and Bourbon dynasties; one by Charles I. of Spain, or Charles V. of Germany; and the other by Philip V.; that in these two cases of abdication the greatest deliberation and caution was observed; insomuch, that those who represented the nation required to know how far the abdication was to extend, in case the persons next in succession should be prevented from reigning; and that, on this account Philip V. reigned a second time after the death of Louis I., in whose favour he had resigned the crown; and finally, that if the father protested against the violence, in consequence of which he had abdicated, and the journey to Bayonne was persisted in, it was to be feared that neither of them would be permitted to reign, and Spain would be thrown into a state of confusion and misery.

"He observed that all Europe, even France, would condemn such a transaction; and that Spain would become formidable in consequence of being supported by England. I answered him on these three points thus:—'As to Europe, every country is impoverished: there exist no means for undertaking new wars, and no union; because the particular interests and ambitious views of each sovereign and state act with more force than the feeling of the necessity of making great sacrifices to destroy the system adopted by France since her fatal revolution. In proof of what I ad-

vanced, I took a view of the conduct of the coalitions, their ill-combined plans, their defections, and showed him that the result of these leagues had uniformly been the aggrandisement of France. I observed that I saw no court except that of Vienna capable at present of opposing the plans of Napoleon, if Spain should resist, and be assisted by England; but that if Russia, Germany, and the rest of the continent of Europe, should be adverse to such a line of policy, Austria would then encounter reverses, and would lose a part of her territory, while we should completely lose our marine, and Spain would be nothing more than the theatre of the war between the English and the French, whither the former certainly would not come unless they had something to gain; for England is not a power capable of making head against France in a continental war: finally, that the result would be conquest, after a struggle ruinous to Spain.

On the second point, the expectation of discontent in France at the unjust conduct of the Emperor, I entered into a long explanation of the character of that nation. I remarked that the French were always pleased with whatever was brilliant and surprising; that they acted under the influence of no other public spirit than that which was produced by the impulse given to them by their government; that besides, the French nation would gain much, in a commercial point of view, if the sovereigns of the two countries were of one and the same family; that if the Emperor confined himself within certain limits of aggrandisement, and consolidated his empire by good moral institutions, France would adore him, would regard him as her deliverer from the terrible revolution in which she had been plunged, would bless his dynasty, and would be proud to see several of the thrones of Europe occupied by his family; and that consequently this argument could not diminish my suspicion. I added that, besides these considerations, we ought never to forget that the kings of Spain were Bourbons, and a branch of the family of the former

sovereigns of France; that great changes of fortune had been produced by the suppression of privileged corporations, confiscations and sales, whereby nearly all the French people have taken some part, more or less, in the revolution; that the persons interested in this way, the literary men, those who desire reforms, the Jews and the Protestants, taken altogether, compose the most numerous and active part of the nation. They are now free from the oppression under which they laboured before the revolution; and it is probable that they would look without regret on the extinction of the Bourbons in Spain, as that event would relieve them from the apprehension of being possibly, at some future period, obliged to submit to the restoration of the Bourbons, if Spain should be well governed.

"On the third point, the arming of the nation, I also entered into very extensive details. I stated that, unfortunately, since the time of Charles V. the nation could not be said to exist, because there was nobody which represented it, and no common interests which could unite the people in one object; that Spain was a Gothic edifice, composed of fragments, with nearly as many different kinds of forces, privileges, laws, and customs, as there are provinces; that public spirit no longer existed; that these causes would prevent the formation of a solid government, capable of concentrating the force of the country and giving it the necessary direction and activity; that popular commotions and tumults could be but of short duration; that these tumults could not fail to produce pernicious effects in our American colonies, because the natives would take the opportunity to try their strength, and shake off the yoke which had been imposed upon them ever since the conquest of these countries; that even England would assist them, and consider the doing so an act of just revenge for our imprudent conduct in aiding, along with the French, the insurrection of their colonies; that

we ought not to forget the attempts made by the English on the Caraccas, and other provinces of South America.

"In fine, my friend, I said every thing to the Duke del Infantado that I think could be said on the danger of this journey. I offered, if the journey were abandoned, to go to Bayonne in the character of ambassador, to propose entering into conventions with the Emperor, and thus terminating in the best way possible this disagreeable business, so unfortunately commenced, and so badly directed; but I suggested that they should, in the mean time, get the King to leave the town incognito, making him take his departure from one of the houses adjoining that in which he is lodged, and conducting him to Arragon: that Señor Urbina, the alcalde of the town, would facilitate the means of flight; and that when it should come to the ears of Napoleon that the King had escaped, and was at liberty to act for himself, he would be obliged to change his plans. But I urged all this in vain, completely in vain.

"After this conversation Don Joseph Hervas was presented to me. He confirmed me in the opinion that the Emperor intended to change our dynasty; for he begged me to do what I could to stop the journey to France. This young man (who has a great deal of talent, and is a good Spaniard) has arrived from Paris with General Savary. As he is the brother-in-law of General Duroc, the grand-marshal of the Emperor's palace, he knows all the intrigues connected with this business. He explained them to me, and complained of the hard treatment he had received at Madrid, where nobody would listen to him when he wished to speak upon the subject. He begged of me to procure him a private audience of the Duke del Infantado, which I did. He conferred with the Duke, but obtained nothing. Escoiquiz was confined to his bed by a cold. There was such a number of people about him, that I had no opportunity of conversing with him.

I am ignorant of his views, and of the degree of influence which he exercises in affairs. Labrador and Muzquiz are offended at being neglected, and never consulted in any case, owing to the rivalship of Cevallos. I perceive with profound affliction that all are acting blindly, and hurrying to the precipice.

"After dinner, when the King had retired, an aide-de-camp arrived with dispatches from the Emperor. The tone in which he spoke, in demanding an immediate audience of the King, the deference shown to him in announcing him to the King, the manner in which I saw him waited on at his departure, and the knowledge I had acquired of what was going on, all contributed to rouse my Spanish pride, and I at last took my leave, reminding the ministers, but uselessly, of my predictions. I returned to my lodgings to write this long account, to acquaint you of what passed; for to-morrow at daybreak, or about three o'clock, I shall set off for Bilboa.

"Don Miguel de Alava, a naval officer, and nephew of the admiral of the same name, had come to pay me a visit. I found him in my lodgings when I returned home. He was conversing with a friend who had accompanied me from Bilboa. I seized the opportunity of telling him, as I did to all who were willing to listen to me, that if the King left Spain, the Bourbons would be for ever removed from the throne; that all Spain would be desolated; and that we should have much reason to lament the event. I spoke in this way to Don Miguel in the hope that he would make use of the influence he has in the town and the province to prevent the journey. This is all that I could do. I am regarded with much respect in this province, on account of the protection which I have procured for the inhabitants, and because I am a native of it. Perhaps the people will see things more clearly, and act better than those who should direct them. Perhaps they will tear asunder the veil which covers the eyes of their superiors.

"When I took my leave, it appeared to me that the Duke del Infantado was somewhat piqued at finding that I had no intention of accompanying him to Bayonne. I told him that I was ready to do any thing, if they would follow my plan; but that otherwise I would not tarnish or destroy my reputation, which was the thing dearest to my heart. You will have to witness many misfortunes. I do not pretend to say who is culpable. I am sorry for Spain; but I can only return to my little corner, and deplore her fate. Would to God that all my fears may be vain!

"When I shall be certain that you are at Valladolid I shall write to you. In the mean time, offer my respects to your lady. I am very sad. Adieu! You know that I am wholly your's.

(Signed) "URQUIJO.

"Vittoria, April 13th, 1808."

The aide-de-camp who behaved so bluntly, and who, consequently, was not trying to seduce any body, was myself. I knew nothing of the resolution adopted by the council. Every thing tended to make me believe that it was the contrary of what it proved to be. Ferdinand's ministers had adopted no part of Urquijo's advice, except just as much as served to compromise them. Instead of adopting a bold and energetic resolution, they did not know what to do. They wished to run the chances of the journey, and yet they tried to stir up a kind of insurrection. Vittoria was filled with people from the country, all armed, and who certainly had not come there without being invited, nor without being told against whom it was wished to employ them.

I was not tranquil until I was told by General Verdier, who commanded our troops, that he had prevented the chance of a quarrel by confining them to their quarters. Had it not been for this precaution, a little indulgence on the part of the soldiers in wine would have been sufficient to light up a

war between France and Spain. This, I believe, is what the persons about Ferdinand wished, that they might have the opportunity of escaping from the embarrassments in which they had involved themselves. They would not have failed to justify themselves, by spreading every where the report that we had been the aggressors, and wished to carry off the King.

Nevertheless, I wrote to Marshal Bessières at Burgos to inform him of the situation of General Verdier, and to request that he would march some troops to Miranda, in order that we might be secured against an attempt after the manner of the Sicilian Vespers.

It was not until after I had received all the information I wanted, and taken what precautions I thought necessary, that I notified to the Prince of the Asturias my return with a letter from the Emperor, which I wished to deliver to him. He immediately sent one of his officers to conduct me to his presence. The house in which I had left him only four days before was converted into a real guard-room. The Great Square of Vittoria, in which this house was situated, formed a bivouac for armed peasants. The vestibule and stairs leading into the house were filled with soldiers, and men armed with poniards, lying about in such a manner as to render it difficult to know where to put down one's foot. In all the apartments, until I reached the one in which the Prince was, I observed that the preparations of defence had been carried so far, that I could not see the walls for the arms which covered them.

I was introduced without delay to Ferdinand, to whom, after the usual salutations, I delivered the letter of which I was the bearer. It was in these terms :—

"My Brother,

"I have received your Royal Highness' letter. You must have found proofs, in the papers which you obtained from the

King your father of the interest with which I have always regarded you. You will permit me, in the present circumstances, to speak to you openly and fairly. I hoped, on arriving at Madrid, to induce my illustrious friend to make some necessary reforms in his states, and to give some satisfaction to public opinion. The dismissal of the Prince of the Peace appeared to me necessary for his happiness, and the happiness of the people. The affairs of the north retarded my journey; and the events of Aranjuez have, in the mean time, taken place. I am not the judge of what has been done, nor of the conduct of the Prince of the Peace; but this I well know, that it is dangerous for kings to accustom the people to shed blood, and to look for justice at their own hands. I pray God that your Royal Highness may not one day have experience of this yourself. It cannot be for the interest of Spain to injure a prince who has married a princess of the blood-royal, and who has so long governed the kingdom. He has no longer any friends: your Royal Highness will have none also if ever you are unfortunate. The people are always inclined to avenge themselves for the homage they pay us. Besides, how can the Prince of the Peace be tried, without trying, at the same time, the Queen and the King your father? Such a trial would serve to feed the malignant passions of the factious. The result will be fatal to your crown. Your Royal Highness has no other rights than those which you derive from your mother. If this trial should dishonour her, your Royal Highness will thereby destroy your rights. Shut your ears, then, against weak and perfidious counsels. You have no right to try the Prince of the Peace; his crimes, if he is to be reproached with them, are merged in the rights of the crown. I have frequently manifested my wish to see the Prince of the Peace removed from public affairs. My friendship for King Charles often induced me to be silent, and to turn aside my eyes from the weakness of his attachment. Miserable beings that we are! weakness and error are our

lot. But every thing may be conciliated by the exile of the Prince of the Peace from Spain; and I shall grant him a refuge in France. As to the abdication of Charles IV., it took place at a moment when our troops were spread over Spain; and, in the eyes of Europe and posterity, I shall appear to have sent my armies into the country only to precipitate my ally and friend from the throne. As a neighbouring sovereign, it is allowable in me to wish to know the nature of this abdication before I recognise it. I declare to your Highness, to the people of Spain, and to the whole world, that if the abdication of King Charles was a proceeding of his own accord, if he was not driven to it by the insurrection and tumult at Aranjuez, I shall make no difficulty in admitting it, and I shall recognise your Royal Highness as King of Spain. I desire, then, to confer on this subject. The circumspection which I have observed for a month past in these affairs ought to be sufficient pledge for the support you will receive from me if, in your turn, factions of any description should disturb you on your throne.

"When King Charles communicated to me the events which occurred in October last, I was grievously affected, and conceived I had contributed to it by the hints I gave for the good issue of the affair of the Escurial. Your Royal Highness was then much in fault; I want no other proof than the letter you wrote to me, and which it has been my constant wish to forget. Becoming in your turn a king, you will learn how sacred are the rights of the throne. Every application made to a foreign sovereign by an hereditary prince is criminal. Your Royal Highness ought to be on your guard against irregularities and popular commotions.

"Some of our straggling soldiers may be assassinated; but the ruin of Spain will be the consequence. I learn with regret that letters from the captain-general of Catalonia have been circulated at Madrid, and that every thing has been done to inflame the passions.

"Your Royal Highness knows my whole mind. I find that I am floating between different ideas which need to be fixed. You may be certain that in all cases I shall be to you as I have been to the King your father. Rely upon my desire to conciliate all differences, and to find opportunities for giving you proofs of my affection and perfect esteem.

"Whereupon I pray God, &c.

"NAPOLEON.

"Bayonne, April 16th, 1808."

We spoke little. I had nothing to add to what I had had the honour of previously stating to him. Besides, the letter was so decisive, that it left nothing to be misunderstood. The Emperor had explained himself without any circumlocution.

Ferdinand's counsellors who were present, and who were still the same persons, did not appear satisfied with the manner in which the Emperor expressed himself, because he used the title of royal highness. I felt myself obliged to observe that the Emperor could not with propriety make use of any other address, because, on his part, the recognition was yet a thing to be done; that there were questions still more important than that to be settled between them; and these once adjusted, the rest would follow naturally.

The King dismissed me, by observing that he would make his decision known to me. It was communicated to me at the breaking up of the council, when I was told that he would on the following day commence his journey to Bayonne, and that I might inform the Emperor of this determination.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Tumult at Vittoria—Ferdinand favours it—The Duke del Infantado—Ferdinand continues his journey—His arrival at Bayonne—Reception he experiences from the Emperor—The Emperor's opinion of Ferdinand.

THE King was ready to seat himself in his carriage when a tumult broke out among that crowd of country people who had been imprudently brought into the town. In a moment the Square and the streets were filled with armed men. Fortunately our troops were shut up in their barracks, otherwise some insult would, no doubt, have been offered to the soldiery; and as there was a reciprocal feeling of irritation, fatal consequences would have ensued.

Notwithstanding the crowd, which choked up the avenues leading to the King's quarters, his carriages were drawn up at the hour which he himself had appointed for his departure. The King's own carriage was already at the foot of the staircase, when suddenly a burst of dissatisfaction was manifested among the populace. I was in the crowd, dressed in plain clothes, without any portion of my uniform; so that, without being recognised, I had an opportunity of witnessing what I am about to relate.

While I was observing what passed, my carriage was waiting at my own abode, in readiness to follow the King's convoy. I was convinced that all would proceed quietly, when a fierce-looking man, armed, dressed in a way corresponding with his appearance, approached the King's carriage, and with one hand seizing the traces of the eight mules which were harnessed to it, with the other, in which he held a hedge-bill, like a sickle, cut, with one stroke, the traces of all the

mules who were attached to the same fastening point.* The mules were driven away; the mob shouted bravo, and the tumult increased. The other carriages were drawn away, and the King's departure experienced open opposition.

I was still in the square, when the King himself appeared at the window smiling to the multitude, who greeted him with reiterated cries of "*Viva Fernando!*" At this moment it struck me that the scene I witnessed was merely a preconcerted trick. In fact there could be no doubt of this. There were at Vittoria a company of body-guards and a battalion of Spanish guards. Both were under arms in front of the King's quarters, and the least they could do was to prevent the King's carriage from being attacked. If they did not do this, it must have been because they knew their master was not offended at the proceeding, the intention of which was probably to please him.

In fact, after his departure from Madrid, the Prince of the Asturias became entirely changed. Either from what he observed on the road, or from what had been told him; he conceived himself to be the stronger party, and yet he resorted to petty contrivances, as will speedily be seen.

While observing the tumult, I met the Duke del Infantado, who was using great exertions to quell it. I went up to him, and, accosting him, hinted that I was not to be duped by this tumult. He replied, in a tone of sincerity, "General, in the name of Heaven, get out of the way! Do not let your troops show themselves, or all is lost, and I will not answer for the consequences. I will do my best to quell the riot, and to bring back the mules."

* To make this understood, it is necessary to explain the manner in which mules are harnessed in Spain. Each mule has his traces fastened to the front of the carriage, so that the traces of the foremost mules are forty feet long. The mules are coupled together, and therefore sixteen traces met in front of the King's carriage. Thus all the animals were unharnessed by the single cut of the hedge-bill, which severed the traces.

He kept his word; for, in less than half an hour, without my having occasion to see him again, the King set out. He proceeded without stopping as far as Irun, that is to say, the last Spanish town.* Here he passed the night, and set out next day for Bayonne. As there were no troops in the town at that time, he received but few military honours. The Emperor was not lodged in the town; he occupied a country-house called Marac, and was attended by a guard not amounting to a hundred men.

He sent Marshal Duroc to meet the Prince of the Asturias, and to carry him his congratulations; but I doubt whether any one of the formalities were omitted which Cevallos complains were not observed. Besides, it must be considered that the Emperor was not on a court journey. He was living at Marac without etiquette; and even if etiquette had been observed at such a time, a great distinction would have been drawn between the Prince of the Asturias and the King of Spain.

However, the Prince was received with a salute of artillery from the ramparts, and all the civil and military authorities paid him their respects. The Emperor himself was the first to go and visit him; and his carriage not being ready as soon as he wanted it, he went on horseback. I was present at that interview, during which every thing was as it should be.

Señor Cevallos complains of the place of residence which was assigned to the King. All that can be said to this is, that it was one of the best houses in Bayonne, and that he could not get better accommodation than there was to give him. If Señor Cevallos had been of a less dissatisfied turn of mind, he would not have remarked so unimportant an affair as a lodging, under the circumstances which then prevailed.

The Emperor, on his return to Marac, sent to invite the

* I could not follow him that day, and I did not rejoin him until next morning, after having travelled the whole night.

Prince to dinner. I believe it was on this occasion that the ill-humour first commenced, because the Emperor would not address him by the title of majesty, and there were a great number of attendants present.

The Prince of the Asturias had come to Bayonne for the sole purpose of being acknowledged king. He thought that that act consisted merely in a form of address which might have been employed; and, without considering the importance which the Emperor attached to a change of sovereigns, he regarded as trifles those very matters which ought to have claimed his whole attention, and which were infinitely more interesting to France than the name of the monarch who occupied the throne.

Unfortunately, the Prince had been brought up in an utter ignorance of business, which rendered him very unfit for the part which his birth assigned to him.

The Emperor told us in the evening that he was very sorry to find him so deficient, and that he very much regretted his father. During several succeeding days, he invited the Duke del Infantado and the other Spaniards who had accompanied the Prince to Bayonne. But he did not find what he wanted; not that he did not esteem them, and in particular the Duke de San Carlos; but he found that their sentiments were all contrary to those which he had been accustomed to meet with in the Spanish ministry; and I believe that, in this respect, the opinion he formed of them was not favourable. He began to be annoyed at being himself obliged to speak of business, because a sovereign always weighs what he says, and has no means of drawing back, if by chance he advances too far. I believe this was one of the occasions on which he was most anxious to have M. de Talleyrand near him, and that he would have sent for him, had he not been afraid of offending M. de Champagny. Cases of this kind often happened to the Emperor. He sometimes offended by mere trifles men who were of an irritable disposi-

tion, and, at other times, he sacrificed his own interests through the fear of offending the self-love of a good servant.

I am persuaded that, if M. de Talleyrand had come to Bayonne while there was yet time to bring about an adjustment, the affairs of Spain would have taken a different turn. He would not have been so hasty; for he would have taken care to have many conferences before he committed any thing to writing. Besides, he had such sources of communication with Spain, that he could have assumed towards those who accompanied the Prince of the Asturias the precise attitude which belonged to the points in question. He would have found means to form at Bayonne a Spanish court in opposition to that of the Prince of the Asturias, and would have made Charles's court pour into Spain antidotes against the poison which flowed from Ferdinand's. M. de Champagny having newly entered the ministry, could not command the same advantages. The consequence was, that little was done besides eating and drinking, and the time, which could not be turned to profit, hung heavy on our hands; the days, which business would have rendered short, seemed never to end. It was not the fault of malevolence that they were not entirely spent in vain. In this state of things the whole weight of the business was thrown on the Emperor. He was obliged to discuss the details of questions which, under other circumstances, would have been presented to him in a complete form; and as he had a thousand other things to attend to, it was not surprising that he should sometimes be out of humour, and appear repulsive to those who were not accustomed to his manner of transacting business. M. de Talleyrand had the excellent quality of being quite impassive; when he found that the disposition of the Emperor's mind was not what he thought best suited to the consideration of the subject to which he wished to call his attention, he never said a word about it until he had led him back to that tranquil state which befitted the business. If an order was given in

a moment of irritation, he found means to make its execution be evaded; and it seldom happened that he was not thanked for a delay which was almost always attended with good effects.

A few days after the arrival of the Prince of the Asturias at Bayonne, the Prince of the Peace arrived in a carriage, accompanied by an aide-de-camp of the Grand-duke of Berg. He had not been recognised on the road. The Emperor lodged him in a country-house at about a league from Bayonne, out of consideration to the Prince of the Asturias; and on the day after his arrival I was sent to conduct him to the Emperor. He remained with him a considerable time, and he doubtless furnished him with details respecting the late events with which he was not previously acquainted.

He remained in this country-house until the arrival of King Charles IV., who from his palace of Aranjuez had just written to the Emperor, declaring that it had never been his intention to abdicate, but that he had been forced *to do so*; adding, that he was coming to Bayonne to assure him *of this*. He accordingly arrived a few days after accompanied by the Queen.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Arrival of Charles IV. at Bayonne—His meeting with Ferdinand—His complaints to the Emperor—Ferdinand's dispatches intercepted—They furnish proofs of his hostile sentiments towards France—The Emperor receives intelligence of the insurrection of Madrid—Reflection of Charles IV.—Violent scene between the father and son—The Emperor's scruples decided.

The Emperor ordered that Charles IV. should be received as King of Spain. All the troops in Bayonne were drawn out under arms. A salute of a hundred and one guns was

fired; and the officers attached to the Emperor's household joined the retinue which escorted the King to the residence which had been previously prepared for the Emperor himself.

I was present when Charles alighted from his carriage. The Prince of the Peace had come some minutes before to receive the King's orders. The court-yard of the house was so small, that none but the King's carriage could enter it. The venerable monarch on alighting spoke to every body, even to those he did not know; and on seeing his two sons at the foot of the staircase, where they were waiting for him, he pretended not to observe them. He however said, as he advanced to the Infante Don Carlos—"Good morning, Carlos," and the Queen embraced him. He said nothing to the Prince of the Asturias. When Ferdinand advanced to embrace him, the King stopped, with an expression of indignation, and then passed on to his apartment. The Queen, who followed him, showed less severity, and embraced the Prince.

The King and Queen both evinced great satisfaction at meeting the Prince of the Peace, with whom they withdrew, and the two Infantes proceeded to their respective abodes.

The arrival of Charles IV. completely changed the situation of Prince Ferdinand, and left his mind a prey to every perplexing conjecture respecting the result of his projects; and I believe that he now first began to cherish hostile feelings. It was not, as M. de Cevallos states, on the day when he dined with the Emperor that I proposed Tuscany to him: that proposal was not made until the Emperor had learned the protestation of the father against the violence which had been exercised towards him. The Prince of the Asturias, who was ignorant of that circumstance, declined the offer, and it was not again repeated.

Charles IV. came to dine with the Emperor on the very day of his arrival. He had some difficulty in ascending the steps leading to the saloon, and he said to the Emperor, who offered him his arm, "It is because I am so frail that they

want to drive me away." The Emperor replied: "Oh! oh! we shall see that. Let me support you. I have strength enough for us both." On hearing this, the King stopped, and said, looking at the Emperor, "I believe and hope so." He then again took the Emperor's arm, and ascended to the apartment. I know not what was said or done during the interviews which preceded and followed the dinner; but no doubt business came under discussion; for the Prince of the Peace, who dined that day with us at the table of the grand maréchal, was summoned to the Emperor before dinner was ended.

While affairs were going on thus at Bayonne, a re-action had taken place at Madrid. Immediately after the declaration of Charles IV. the Grand-duke of Berg dissolved the governing junta, which was under the presidency of the Infante Don Antonio, whom Prince Ferdinand had invested with the power at the moment of his departure. The Grand-duke of Berg, in consequence of the hints of the Emperor, had been appointed by Charles IV. lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and he had in consequence taken full authority into his own hands. Accordingly, he received and opened packets sent from Bayonne by the Prince of the Asturias to his uncle the Infante Don Antonio, the president of the governing junta. He forwarded them immediately to the Emperor; and the bad spirit of the orders contained in these packets suggested the idea of stopping them on their departure from Bayonne, because it was presumed they might contain communications for Vittoria, Burgos, and other places where we had troops.

Prince Ferdinand, seeing father, mother, and the Prince of the Peace daily in conference with the Emperor, had no longer any doubt of the danger which threatened his cause, and consequently had recourse to desperate measures. The couriers he sent to Spain, and those coming to him, were arrested at the distance of a few leagues from Bayonne. They were confined in a house, where they were in other

respects well treated, but their dispatches were taken from them, and carried to the Emperor. The examination of the first dispatches which were thus seized gave reason to regret that this measure had not been sooner resorted to; for it became evident that the Prince of the Asturias had been transmitting orders, the fatal effects of which could not fail to be soon felt in Spain. I saw a letter written to his uncle, in which, speaking of his own situation and of a Spaniard then at Madrid, he says—"Put no trust in . . . . He is a traitor, devoted to those rascals the French, and will spoil every thing." He afterwards says—"Bonaparte entered the town to-day. Only about a score of ragamuffins ran before his horse, crying '*Vive l'Empereur!*' and even they were paid by the police." Such was the letter of a prince who was soliciting the Emperor's support to enable him to ascend a throne from which he had just driven his own father! Could any reasonable man, on seeing such a letter, advise the Emperor to place confidence in the alliance of such a prince? Much blame attaches somewhere for neglecting the publication of all the details of this business.

The Emperor spoke of these minor acts of treachery to the Prince of the Peace, who was neither sorry nor surprised at their discovery. He discussed with that prince the question between the father and the son.

What the Emperor learned from the Prince of the Peace and the other Spaniards whom the Grand-duke of Berg had sent to him, as well as what he heard of the sentiments of the Prince of the Asturias and those who surrounded him, soon induced him to adopt the resolution of endeavouring to replace the father on the throne. This course, however, was not free from objection: for, as Charles IV. was much advanced in years, the same kind of embarrassment could not fail soon to recur; and it was to be expected that the mind of the son would then be still more unfavourably disposed towards us. On the other hand, how could he be excluded from the suc-

cession? That could not be done except by a regular decree of condemnation passed on declared grounds, and adopted with the concurrence and consent of the nation. Besides, the sentiments of the Infante Don Carlos were not much more reconcilable to the policy of the two countries than those of his brother; and the conduct of the Prince of the Asturias had so inflamed the public mind, that it would have been impossible to assemble the Cortes without throwing all Spain into confusion. But an event now occurred which put all thought of any arrangement of this kind aside.

The Emperor was taking a morning ride, and I was with him, when we met an officer sent express from Madrid by the Grand-duke of Berg. He proved to be M. Daneucourt, captain of the hunts, and one of the Emperor's orderly officers, who not long before had been dispatched to Madrid.

The dispatches of which this officer was the bearer contained an account of the massacre of the soldiers in the hospitals, the stragglers, and all Frenchmen whom the poniards of a furious populace had been able to reach on the 2nd of May. The conspirators had carefully planned their enterprise. The royal arsenal was thrown open to them, profound secrecy was preserved, and, at a given signal, every Frenchman found in the streets was instantly murdered.

The assassins reckoned on effecting their object by a complete surprise. They thought, that if all our troops in Madrid were not at once butchered, that those who remained alive would fly; and in order that none might finally escape, they had sent notice to all the towns and villages on the route which the fugitives must have taken to intercept them, and kill them.

Fortunately, they were too late in beginning the work. The troops were soon under arms; and, at the first moment, every individual officer acted in the way which appeared to him most advantageous, under circumstances of so urgent and extraordinary a nature. The battalions quartered near the

arsenal marched out immediately without waiting for orders, and took a signal vengeance on all whom they found with arms in their hands.

These battalions also proceeded to the great hospital, where the ruffians had assassinated the sick soldiers in their beds. The spectacle of barbarity which the hospital presented roused the fury of the troops; and there was a moment of reprisal on their part, in which many lives were sacrificed. Such a scene could not fail to be accompanied with much disorder. However, when the fire from the windows was silenced, and it became possible to pass through the streets without being shot, order was restored among the troops, and their vengeance was moderated. Tranquillity was thus at last re-established. We lost a number of officers and soldiers, who had been rambling through the streets, and who were the victims of confidence in their security. Many others were killed by shots from the houses.

The Emperor could not restrain his passion on reading these details. Instead of returning home, he went straight to Charles IV. I accompanied him. On entering, he said to the King—"See what I have received from Madrid: I cannot understand this." The King read the Grand-duke of Berg's dispatch; and no sooner finished it than, with a firm voice, he said to the Prince of the Peace, "Emanuel, send for Carlos and Ferdinand." They were in no haste to obey the call; and, in the mean time, Charles IV. observed to the Emperor—"I am much deceived if these youths have not had something to do with this business. I am very vexed, but not surprised at it."

The Infantes arrived at last, both of them, I believe, though of that I am not quite certain, as I have some recollection of Don Carlos being slightly indisposed at this time. However, the Prince of Asturias came, and entered his father's apartment, where were also the Emperor and the Queen his mother.

We did not lose a word of what was said to him on this occasion: the Prince of the Peace listened along with us. Charles IV., in a severe tone, asked, "Have you any news from Madrid?" We did not hear the Prince's answer; but the King sharply replied, "Well, I can give you some." He then related what had taken place, saying, "Do you think to persuade me that you have had nothing to do with this *pillage* (such was the word he used)—you or the wretches who govern you? Was it for the purpose of making my subjects be massacred that you were in such haste to hurl me from the throne? Tell me, do you expect to reign long by such means?

"Who has advised you to this monstrous transaction? Are you ambitious of no other glory than that of an assassin? Why do you not speak?" *

The Prince made no answer; at least we could scarcely hear the sound of his voice; but we distinctly heard the Queen say—

"Well! I have often told you that you would bring ruin on yourself. See what you have brought yourself to, and us also. Would you not have had us massacred too had we stayed in Madrid?—How could you have prevented it?"

It is probable that the Prince of the Asturias continued silent; for we heard the Queen say—"Why don't you speak?† This is always the way with you; for every new folly you have nothing to say."

Ferdinand was quite cast down. The Emperor's presence seemed to embarrass him terribly, and yet we heard the Emperor speak in a mild tone to him. He said—

* Charles IV. carried constantly in his hand a long cane, which assisted him in walking. He was so enraged, that it sometimes seemed to us he was going to forget himself so far as to use the cane against his son, who maintained all the time a sullen look. We could see them through several apertures in the door of the room where the scene took place.

† She approached him, lifting her hand, as if she meant to give him a slap on the face.

"Prince, hitherto I had formed no resolution respecting the events which have brought you hither; but the blood shed at Madrid has made me come to a determination. This massacre must be the work of a party which you cannot disavow; and I will never recognise as king of Spain one who has broken the alliance which so long united that country to France, by causing the assassination of French soldiers, at the very time too when he was soliciting me to sanction the impious act by which he wished to ascend the throne. You see the result of the bad counsels by which you have been misled: you have only them to blame.

"I have no engagements except with the King your father. I recognise him only, and I shall immediately reconduct him to Madrid if he wish to go back to that city."

Charles IV. here observed earnestly—"No; I do not wish it. What should I do in a country where he has inflamed all the passions against me? I should only meet with insurrections every where; and after having been so fortunate as to pass without loss through all the convulsions of Europe, shall I dishonour my old age by making war on the provinces I have had the happiness to preserve, and send my subjects to the scaffold?—No, I will not. He will manage that business better than I." Then, looking at his son, he said—"Do you fancy then that there is no difficulty in reigning? Think on the evils you are bringing on Spain. You have followed bad advice. I can do nothing more. You must get out of the scrape the best way you can. I will have nothing to do with the affair: so go about your business."

The Prince withdrew, and was followed by the Spaniards of his party who were waiting for him in an adjoining apartment.

After this scene, it was amusing to see how the Spaniards who came to Bayonne with the Prince of the Asturias humbled themselves before the father, of whom they spoke so much ill before he arrived. They would now have kissed the earth under his footsteps.

The Emperor continued a full quarter of an hour in company with Charles IV., and returned to Marac on horseback. He did not ride so fast as he was used to do. On the way he said to us, "None but a person of a bad disposition could have entertained the idea of poisoning the old age of so respectable a father." At the same time, he dispatched an officer to tell the Prince of the Peace that he wished to see him at Marac.

The day did not pass over until he came to a decision respecting the Prince of the Asturias, his brother Don Carlos, and their uncle, the Infante Don Antonio. Being all three enemies of Charles IV., it was determined that they should not return to Spain. How they were to be disposed of was next considered.

A negotiation was opened with Charles IV. He did not wish to return to Spain; such, at least, was his public declaration. Besides, he would not have gone back without the Prince of the Peace, to whose services he had been accustomed during a long series of years; and as the Prince had many offences to revenge and resentments to dread, sanguinary scenes would have unavoidably occurred. Both, indeed, looked with alarm at the consequences of their return. There was a moment of indecision; but at last Charles IV. solicited from the Emperor an asylum in France, and ceded to him all his rights on Spain. The same cession was made by the two Infantes.

CHAPTER XXV.

Titles of the Spanish Bourbons to the crown—Policy of the Emperor—Convocation of the notables—The insurrection spreads over Spain—Abdication of the Bourbons—Military preparations—Arrival of Joseph Napoleon at Bayonne—Review of his administration at Naples—Constitution of Bayonne.

It is not my purpose to discuss in this place the questions whether those two acts were lawful or not, or even to inquire whether many European states have not lost their glory and renown in consequence of similar acts backed by the power of physical force; I will only relate what I have either personally witnessed, or ascertained to be true. I might, however, point out, that when Louis XIV. undertook to place his grandson on the throne of Spain, he had no other right than the terror which he inspired, and the means which he had at command for enforcing a will wrung from Charles II. by the threats and artifices of the Duke of Harcourt. The King of Spain only decided in favour of the Duke of Anjou in preference to the Archduke Charles of Austria, in order to avoid the dismembering of Spain and the partition of his states, questions successively agitated by Louis XIV. with the King of England, the states of Holland, and the Emperor of Germany.

The Duke of Anjou was acknowledged King of Spain by France and her allies; but the Emperor Napoleon was possessed of a moral and physical power far greater than what Louis XIV. wielded at that particular period. It is certainly true that Charles II. disinherited no one, and that a part of the Spanish nation declared for the Duke of Anjou. Austria, however, raised contrary pretensions, which she asserted by force of arms; and another part of the Spanish nation pronounced itself in her favour.

The legality of the pretenders' claims was therefore discussed on the field of battle. That long war was of doubtful issue, and Philip V. was frequently compelled to quit Madrid.

Had not the death of the Emperor of Germany happened opportunely for calling away the Archduke Charles to fill the imperial throne, and thereby released from their obligation that part of the Spanish people which had risen in his favour; or if that Archduke had met with success instead of failure, what would then have become of the will of Charles II.? Unquestionably the Archduke Charles would have reigned over Spain; and notwithstanding the will of Charles II., he would have brought that throne to the house of Austria, which would thus have become the lawful inheritor of the sovereignty of Spain and of the Indies, as Charles V. had been; and Louis XIV. would have been arraigned as an ambitious man, an usurper, &c.; and assailed with abuse for all the intrigues, which were no doubt resorted to for the purpose of dictating the will of Charles II. Legitimacy therefore sprung out of no other source than victory.

What inference are we to draw from the occurrence having been otherwise, except that the success of Louis XIV. was owing to a death which spared him the necessity of erecting from the port of Cette in Languedoc, and from Perpignan to Bayonne, a line of fortresses such as those he was constructing in Flanders; a death which put him in a more favourable position than that in which Francis I. had been placed? The case of necessity was as clearly made out for France on the present occasion: the throne of Spain was in no danger of falling to the lot of the house of Austria; but that of France might be transferred to Spain, the throne of which was held by a family with which there was much less likelihood of any accommodation than was the case as between France and Austria. It must indeed be admitted that there were heirs of that family: this was the difficulty; but was it proper for the sake of private interests to endanger the harmony which

bound both nations to each other, when a similar consideration had influenced, a century before, the determination taken by King Charles II. to transfer his inheritance to the French house of Bourbon?

He was not induced to do so by any affection for that house, or any conviction of her rights to the succession; but merely out of regard for his subjects, to whom he was unwilling to leave, as a dying bequest, a perpetual war with France, which would have always maintained an ascendancy over her. Perhaps, also, he was persuaded that by destroying each other, they would have promoted the cause of their enemies. That prudent monarch was no doubt well aware that sovereigns are generally much less inclined to sacrifice their personal feelings to the welfare of their subjects, than they are to resort to those subjects for the physical power they stand in need of to gratify their revenge and promote their private resentment.

Nevertheless, the Emperor felt the insecurity of the two titles which placed Spain at his command. He plainly saw that their only effect was to render the throne vacant; and the very circumstance of his having assumed the crown of France by the consent of the nation, made him desirous to consult the Spanish nation in the choice of the monarch whom he intended as a successor to the princes of the house of Bourbon. This is another of those occasions on which he was ill seconded, and in which M. de Talleyrand might have been of essential service to him.

The Emperor, who attended personally to every thing, sent immediately a courier to his brother the King of Naples, desiring him to repair forthwith to Bayonne; and he transmitted orders to Spain at the same time,* directing that a deputation of the most influential men of each province and government, whether of the clergy or in civil or military capacities, should

* The Spanish ministry at Madrid obeyed the orders of the lieutenant-general of the kingdom appointed by Charles IV.; this was the Grand-duke of Berg.

be sent to Bayonne. His object was to form them into a junta, before which he would have candidly stated what were the political considerations which compelled him to meddle in their domestic affairs. He was desirous of enlightening the Spaniards through their medium, and of removing from their minds the impression that he intended to conquer Spain. He wished, on the contrary, to demonstrate to them that their future safety would be much better secured under a monarch whose first personal interest would be to repel all perfidious advice, the tendency of which might be to separate the interests of Spain from those of France; because the first consequence of it for the monarch would be the loss of his throne, as he would infallibly fall a sacrifice to the very intrigue which might have succeeded in deceiving him.

The Emperor's only aim was to bind Spain to France by uniform principles of government and uniformity of interests.

Geographically speaking, that country is a continuation of the French soil; it communicates with no other, and is terminated by the Pillars of Hercules: in a word, there are no more Pyrenees. Its immense extent of coast renders it vulnerable on that side; a prey to England under a bad administration, and formidable under a good one.

Under the system of the Emperor, as well as at any other time, it was for the interest of France that Spain should be placed on a par with her in respect to civilisation; that she should receive such institutions as would bind her fate to ours; and that the canker which undermines her should be for ever rooted up from her soil.

The Emperor's conduct was, in this point of view, not only noble and praiseworthy, but characteristic also of the soundest policy; the whole error was in the informality of the act; the issue of the event was too rapidly accelerated, without sufficient regard being paid to the national feelings.

Had Charles IV. and his son concurred in this gigantic

project, he would have availed himself of their aid for the purpose of softening down the difficulties; but, independently of the disfavour in which they were held, owing to the state of destitution to which Spain was reduced, he discovered on his first interview with them how little they could assist him; and felt, besides, that none but a man connected with himself by the ties of affinity or of martial renown was calculated to give effect to any plan that might obtain the assent of all enlightened Spaniards, and even of the nobility of Spain.

The Emperor little expected to find spread over the whole nation a swarm of monks, all-powerful by their connexion with every family; for there was not a family to be found, in any class of people, which had not some member of it either a priest or a monk, who acted as the mentor and sovereign ruler of their opinions. They are all perfectly ignorant and uneducated, and their vices and defects are the means by which they insinuate themselves with the population; and they can do so much more effectually than our priests, who have all studied to a certain extent, and are subjected to a kind of discipline, which does not exist in Spain, as a restraint upon that low, intolerant, and superstitious set of men, the inveterate enemy of every improvement. To them is to be ascribed the exasperated feelings of the Spaniards; they had but to pronounce the watch-word in order to raise to its highest pitch the opposition of the people to that order of things which was about to effect the destruction of whatever promoted idleness and its attendant enjoyments; they alone, by exciting the fanaticism of the people, defeated the Emperor's projects.

The Spaniards who were the least carried away by this influence discovered at once that the struggle was in vain: 'despairing of our success, and well aware of the ascendancy of the monks, they deserted our cause, and eventually followed the stream.

African blood still runs in the veins of the Spaniards, who are, as it were, separated from Europeans. Their connexion

with us would have remodelled their character and manners, completed their civilisation, and therefore accomplished the ruin of England: that power, however, is acknowledged to possess the talent of skilfully wielding every element of discord.

The Emperor was desirous, in short, of pressing upon the junta the necessity for Spain adopting liberal principles, in order to place her in harmony, not only with France, but with the other powers of Europe, from which she still remained at an immeasurable distance. This junta was to bring King Joseph back to Spain, after taking cognizance of all that had occurred between the Emperor and Charles IV. at Bayonne. Independently of that measure, the Cortes of the kingdom were to be assembled at Madrid, and to proceed to the constitutional election of the new king. That election would have been no matter of doubt; the foundation was already laid for King Joseph by the fame which his personal qualities had secured to him, and the excellent administration he had established in the kingdom of Naples; and as he was, moreover, the bearer of those constitutional improvements which had been so much wished for by the Spanish people, he would soon have obtained their affection and support.

I am now about to relate the circumstances owing to which these intentions were defeated.

A few days after the breaking out of the insurrection at Madrid, a similar feeling of discontent manifested itself in Valencia, Cadiz, Andalusia, Arragon, Estramadura, and Santander on the coast of Biscay. The orders of Prince Ferdinand had reached all those points where the blind fanaticism of the priests and of the nobility created a general rising. The Emperor little expected that matters would have taken this turn. I have already mentioned that he had but few troops in Spain, which were much less adapted for military movements, from the insufficiency of their numbers, than to support the party that would have undoubtedly declared for

us if the enterprise had been better managed, and accidents had not happened which it was impossible to foresee.

Although it was found necessary to send our scanty forces to the points which, by their importance and population, exercised an influence over a great extent of country, those expeditions were not only unavailing, but the disturbed districts sent no deputies to Bayonne. Time was running on, without any improvement in our affairs: deputies came from those parts only of which we held possession. This was, however, some point gained, since they amounted to a hundred and twenty members, including the Spaniards who had accompanied Charles IV. and the two Infantes. The opinions of this assembly might be expected to have had some weight; and yet it will be seen how every measure was defeated in its progress.

In order to avoid all embarrassments and unpleasant scenes that would have daily taken place on the arrival of those deputies at Bayonne, the Emperor hastened to terminate whatever related to King Charles IV. and the Infantes. The King was the first to take his departure for Compiegne; a residence which he selected in preference to others, it having been greatly extolled to him on account of its field sports, which he passionately delighted in. The Infantes afterwards departed for Valençay. The abrupt termination of these affairs having taken the Emperor by surprise, he was at a loss to fix upon a residence for them. He asked M. de Talleyrand for the loan of his palace of Valençay, and wrote to him to repair thither for the purpose of receiving the princes, and of keeping them company so long as it might suit their convenience. Charles IV. was only followed by the Prince of the Peace and one or two other Spaniards; in like manner, Messrs. de San Carlos and Escoiquiz were the only persons who did not desert the Prince of the Asturias. M. del Infantado, Cevallos, and others, remained at Bayonne, and waited the arrival of the new king.

Eight or ten days elapsed between the departure of Charles IV. and the Infantes and the arrival of King Joseph at Bayonne. During this interval of time, the Emperor directed those military movements of his troops in Spain which he deemed calculated to maintain the public tranquillity. He instructed Marshal Moncey to proceed to Valencia with one division, and General Dupont to Andalusia with another.

From the reports of the Grand-duke of Berg, who had dispatched officers to every point in Spain where our troops had not yet penetrated, and even to the Balearic islands, and to Ceuta on the coast of Africa, he thought he could rely on the friendly sentiments of General Castaños, as well as of the troops under the orders of this officer at the camp of St. Roque, opposite the fortress of Gibraltar. We paid dearly for the illusion to which the Grand-duke of Berg had allowed himself to yield.

Marshal Bessières, who commanded at Burgos, was directed to check the Galician insurrection, and *to detach* a body of troops towards Santander, where the bishop had placed himself at the head of the armed population.

A small corps of troops was organised at Bayonne, and marched upon Saragossa, under the orders of General Lefevre Desnouettes. These different movements were taking place when King Joseph reached Bayonne. The Emperor went out to meet him several leagues beyond the town, on which occasion I accompanied him. He made his brother step into his carriage, and conducted him to the palace of Marac without stopping at the residence prepared at Bayonne for his reception. The Spaniards who were in that town, those of the suite of Charles IV., as well as of the Infantes, together with the deputies who had already reached Bayonne, had been apprised by the minister for foreign affairs of the approach of the King to Marac, and repaired to that residence an hour before the King's arrival.

This prince had reluctantly quitted the kingdom of Naples,

where he was beginning to derive enjoyment from the immense improvements he had made in it. The report of some of his administrative acts, which had spread in Spain, had created a favourable impression in the minds of the Spaniards. King Joseph's short reign in Naples, which gave it a new aspect, is so little known, that a slight sketch of it will prove acceptable to my readers.

At the time when King Ferdinand was filling the measure of his repeated violations of promises solemnly made, and giving admittance to an Anglo-Russian army into his dominions, six weeks had not elapsed since his ratification of a treaty of neutrality with France.* On receipt of this intelligence, King Joseph was sent to take the command of an army destined to punish that unaccountable treachery, by taking possession of the kingdom of Naples.

On the approach of the French army the English and Russian troops had retreated to Calabria, where they suffered many defeats, that of Campotenense in particular, which compelled them to re-embark. King Ferdinand had crossed over to Sicily, and left his dominions at the mercy of the conqueror. Prince Joseph made his entry into Naples, where he was enthusiastically received. His first attention was bestowed upon the organization of a government. A portion of the French army, under the command of Generals Saint Cyr and Regnier, was sent into the Abruzzi, Apulia, Tarentum, and Calabria; and Marshal Massena was instructed to protect Naples and press the siege of Gaeta.

After making these arrangements, Prince Joseph proceeded to inspect the different provinces, Calabria in particular, which was infested with robbers, and inhabited by a population as wild as its mountains were inaccessible.

* On the 8th of October, 1805, the King of Naples had ratified, at Portici, the treaty of neutrality concluded on the 21st of the preceding month by his ambassador in Paris; and on the 20th November following an Anglo-Russian squadron was landing twelve thousand men in the kingdom of Naples.

He visited every village, entered into all the churches, where the people crowded after him, and he was every where greeted with general acclamations.

Finding himself under the necessity of postponing the expedition contemplated against Sicily, Prince Joseph continued his tour of inspection, inquired into the wants of the local administrations, and into the complaints of the lower classes; took notes of every thing on his way; caused plans to be drawn up for the construction of new roads, of bridges, and especially of a canal of communication between the two seas. This plan, which want of time prevented his carrying into effect, would have greatly contributed to the civilisation of Calabria.

Whilst engaged in these objects at the extremity of this province, he received the news of his elevation to the throne of Naples. He was greeted with fresh acclamations on his return to that capital. The wretched Neapolitans, who were a prey to anarchy, and broken down by that spirit of revenge which had so frequently oppressed them by its terrors, raised their hands towards their liberator; and the first measures of the new king inspired them with the hope of a happy futurity.

He began by creating a council of state, to which he named those men whom the public voice pointed out as most deserving of confidence, without any distinction of rank or party, and who zealously seconded his ardent endeavours towards effecting reforms and useful institutions.

The feudal system, which kept the people in a state of servile dependence upon a few families, and was upheld by superstitious feelings, was abolished with the consent of the nobles themselves, who lent their aid to this reform. They received an equivalent of their rights of proprietorship by notes payable out of the proceeds of the sale of national domains.

The monastic orders were suppressed: the produce of the sale of their property supplied the exigencies of the public

treasury, and contributed to the endowment of colleges and other establishments for public instruction. Three celebrated abbeys (that of Monte Cassino amongst them), which contained valuable collections of manuscripts and ancient charters, were preserved; but the number of religious men was reduced to what was strictly requisite for the preservation of those archives.

The reformed monks, who were competent to instruct or to propagate the study of sciences, were disposed of in a manner suitable to the talents of each; others were sent into the country to perform the duty of curates; some were united into establishments formed upon the model of the St. Bernard, for the purpose of attending to the safety of travellers in the mountains of Calabria and the Abruzzi, which are covered with snow during the greater part of the year.

The monks, whom age and infirmities condemned to repose, were received and maintained in spacious establishments formed for that specific object.

The people, and even the higher classes of society, were plunged in the deepest ignorance. The King's solicitude was attracted to public instruction: fresh probationary schools were instituted; and primary ones, for both sexes, were soon seen springing up in every district. Thirty establishments for gratuitous instruction were formed in different quarters of the city of Naples.

Each province had a college, and a boarding-school for young girls. A central establishment was instituted at Aversa, for the daughters of officers and public functionaries, under the patronage of the Queen. At the end of every year, a competition was opened for giving admittance, in that establishment, to the most distinguished pupils of the provincial boarding-schools.

Professorships were restored, in the different branches of belles-lettres and sciences, which had long remained vacant.

A royal academy was founded, on the model of the French Institute.

The two conservatories of music were united into one, which underwent a more perfect reorganization. The infamous practice of forming eunuchs was wholly abolished.

The academy of painting received fresh encouragements; it numbered already twelve hundred pupils.

The excavations were encouraged at Pompeii, and throughout the kingdom.

The custom-houses were removed to the frontiers.

Two manufactories of arms were established at different points of the Neapolitan dominions.

The army and navy were organised upon an improved system.

The recruiting in prisons was abolished.

Four tribunals were instituted, for the purpose of effecting a jail-delivery of the wretches who had filled the prisons during the several preceding years.

The hospitals received large endowments of national property.

A variety of taxes and contributions of every description, established upon arbitrary and unequal bases, were removed altogether, and made way for a single territorial tax, which produced a more equal distribution of the public burdens. A system of order and regularity began to prevail in the financial department.

The public debt was partly paid off; and a sinking-fund was created and made available to its eventual discharge. The money laid aside for the payment of the national debt was placed under the controul of a commission appointed to watch over the national domains: this fund was augmented by the proceeds of the sale of the suppressed monastic institutions, and of the immense plains of Apulia, which were the property of the crown. These plains had, in very remote

ages, been withdrawn from agricultural purposes, and destined for the pasturage of immense flocks of cattle which were sent there every year from all parts of the kingdom : this system was detrimental to the cultivation of lands ; it was accordingly abolished, and the public treasury, as well as agriculture in general, derived great benefit from this measure.

The house which had been inhabited by Tasso at Sorrentum was repaired; and every edition of the works of this great poet was collected there under the custody of his more immediate descendant, to whom a pension was allowed by the state. That house was hitherto inaccessible to visitors : a commodious road was made in order to facilitate the approach to it.

The King bestowed his attention to the embellishment of the city of Naples. Special police regulations were adopted concerning it. Instead of being only lighted by a few lamps burning opposite to Madonas, as heretofore, a general system of lighting by reflecting-lamps was introduced. Its numerous population, softened down by a paternal government, renounced its habits of idleness and disorder, and found means of exerting its activity. Workshops were constructed for the lazzaroni: a spot was selected for establishing a village where employment was to be found for all those who were without any occupation in the city itself; and two thousand of such persons were mustered into companies of workmen, and employed on the public roads.

One-half of the civil list, which was collected in notes upon mortgaged estates, was applied to the acquisition of national lands in the immediate vicinity of the King's principal residence, which he bestowed upon the officers of his army and court. Those donations had for object to inspire the Neapolitan nobility with a taste for a country life.

When travelling through baronial lands, he encouraged the owners, who often accompanied him on his journeys, to repair their old dwelling-houses, to protect the country people, and befriend the poor. He selected many large houses, in parts

the most distant from the capital, for his residence during some months in the year, so as to enable him to judge of the progress of the institutions he had established. He gave audience to every one, whether nobles, ministers, officers, or public functionaries, contrary to the custom of his predecessors, who confined themselves to a narrow circle of favourites. To the nobles he recommended that they should make themselves popular; to the people he enjoined a consideration for the landed proprietors whom he represented to them as disposed to relinquish those rights and privileges, which were alike injurious and degrading to their inferiors. To all classes of the community he endeavoured to exhibit the French in the character of friends, who were concurring with him to relieve the country from the fetters which had kept its prosperity in check. He urged the necessity of justice and moderation, and brought the mildness of his personal conduct and the prudence of his character in aid of his precepts and recommendations.

Carriage-roads were opened or repaired, which ran from one extremity of the kingdom to the other. The only knowledge which the inhabitants had of a road in Calabria was from a tax levied for cutting it, though never applied to that object: the road was completed, and the contribution abolished.

The officers of the King's household, who accompanied him on his journeys, were entitled to certain duties, raised upon the respective cities; those burdensome taxes were likewise abolished.

During the short reign of King Joseph at Naples, he performed several journeys for purposes of general utility and of improvements, upon which his mind was incessantly bent. After having driven the enemy from the kingdom, taken Gaeta, stifled the disturbances and insurrections which repeatedly broke out in the Calabrias, and pacified those provinces by alternate measures of severity and indulgence,

which were seconded by national guards, placed under the orders of the principal landed proprietors, he brought back to Naples the knowledge he had acquired of the wants and wishes of the people confided to his care, which enabled him to give a fresh impulse to the labours of the administration, and of the different sections of the Council of State.

On his visit to the Abruzzi, he found the roads covered with a population actively engaged upon them, whose zeal in carrying his orders into effect was the sure earnest of their fully appreciating the advantage of those orders, and of their desire to comply with the King's wishes.

The old leaders of independent bands waited upon the King, who, so far from refusing the interview, held long conversations with them; he even employed several of those leaders, and never had cause to repent this mark of confidence: others brought over their partisans, whom he incorporated into regiments, and who faithfully performed their duties.

He always presided at the Council of State; and though vested with absolute power, never decided but by the majority of votes. His fluency in the Italian language was of essential service in enabling him to demonstrate those theories of administration and government, the value of which was clearly proved by the example of France.

All the improvements for which the kingdom of Naples was indebted to her new sovereign were obtained by means of persuasion, and by a skilful amalgamation of the interests of all parties. Since his arrival in the country, he had raised the public revenue to double its previous amount: the debt, which was found at first to be a hundred millions, was reduced to fifty, and the resources adapted to its extinction were firmly secured.

All those germs of prosperity, which were fully developed under his successor, were already in progress when he was called away to Bayonne.

These important results had established his character in

public opinion. The Spaniards expressed themselves satisfied, at finding that the choice had fallen upon him to regenerate their country. "I have had the honour of being presented to the King, who arrived yesterday from Naples," said Cevallos in a confidential letter to his friend Azara; "and I think that his presence alone, his kindness of disposition, and the noble feelings which animate him, and which are manifest at first sight, will be sufficient to pacify the provinces, without any necessity for recurring to arms." The grand-inquisitor and all his attendants were unceasing in their protestations of fidelity and affection; they all expressed an ardent hope that King Joseph, being intrusted with the government of their country, would enjoy a happy reign, and raise the nation to that degree of prosperity which was expected at his hands.

The Duke del Infantado went still farther: "We experience the liveliest satisfaction," said he to King Joseph, in the name of the Spanish grandees, "*in appearing before your Majesty.—Spaniards hope every thing from your reign. Your Majesty's presence is anxiously desired in Spain*; it is especially wanting to fix all wavering ideas, to conciliate the interests of all, and bring back that state of order amongst us, which is so indispensable for restoring our country to its former splendour. Sire, the grandees of Spain have long been celebrated for their fidelity to their sovereign; your Majesty will find in them the same fidelity and affection. Deign to receive our homage with that kindness which you have so often displayed to your Neapolitan subjects, and the fame of which has reached our ears."

I am at a loss to account for the subsequent discontent of the Duke del Infantado; but, notwithstanding such strong protestations, he soon feigned to be overcome by tender scruples of conscience, and created fears in the minds of his fellow-countrymen as to what was going to be required of them. The Emperor was informed of this, and was the more

displeased at the change, because the duke's engagements towards him had led him to hope for a very different conduct. Had the Prince of the Peace been still at Bayonne, I might have supposed the change to have originated with him; but he had already left that town, and my suspicions lighted upon Señor Cevallos.

The Emperor was determined to read the Duke del Infantado a severe lecture. King Joseph had retired to the Emperor's closet.

The Duke del Infantado was introduced. I was present in the saloon with many of my comrades, when the Emperor addressed him in the following severe language:—"Is it your intention, Sir, to trifle with, or to brave me? Have you only remained here for the purpose of obstructing the adjustment of the affairs of your country, instead of assisting me in that object, which you told me it was your intention to promote with all the weight of your influence? Do you, then, take me for a madman? Do you suppose that I intend to have a king of Spain proclaimed by the handful of Spaniards in this place? You are, indeed, much deceived, if you are not all aware, and you, Sir, in particular, of the necessity of obtaining my protection in your own country. Do you not give me credit for knowing, as well as you do, that the Cortes alone are empowered to proclaim the king? But who can bring them together? Do you wish me to convoke them in this place? Could any thing be more absurd? I desire you to accompany the King to Madrid, and there enlighten your fellow-countrymen respecting whatever you have witnessed, and taken part in promoting. I rely upon the influence of knowledge, which is much greater in Spain than is generally supposed, for the eventual approbation and support of a measure founded upon rational policy. Your conduct is the more extraordinary, as when I mentioned these circumstances to you, and proposed to place you at the head of the administration in Spain, I observed, that if the offer did not corre-

spond with your wishes, I should not be hurt at your refusal. I made you the proposal of remaining in France for a couple of years. You are of a studious turn of mind; you may pass there the time which is requisite for consolidating a government in Spain: you replied in the negative, you had no objection to raise: you would even feel gratified at embarking in the public affairs of Spain. I might dispose of your services; and yet you are the first person I have to complain of! Nothing can be worse than the part you are acting: be a candid friend, or an open enemy. I do not detain you here: you may ask for a passport, and proceed to join the insurgents; I shall not be offended at it; but if you remain, you must conduct yourself properly; for otherwise, depend upon it, you shall not escape me."

The Duke del Infantado was greatly at a loss for a reply: he protested against the calumnious imputations levelled at him, and renewed the assurance of his readiness strictly to abide by his engagements.

The Emperor suffered himself to be appeased, having spoken in such strong terms in order not to be under the necessity of recurring to the subject, either with the Duke del Infantado or with any other Spaniard.

When the first burst of anger had blown over, the Emperor conversed as if nothing had taken place; he sent for King Joseph, who was immediately acknowledged as King of Spain by the Duke del Infantado, and the Spanish ministers, who were introduced to his presence, and with whom he conversed for a few moments. Curiosity made me retire with them from the audience-chamber, in order to hear what might be said in the adjoining apartment, where all the Spanish deputies were waiting to be presented. I approached the door, and was the first to retire, as soon as it was opened for the ministers, upon their taking leave of the King. The utmost curiosity was manifested by those who had remained in the anti-room, and who were incessant in their questions.

I heard Señor Cevallos say in French, "None but the most fastidious could object to a king, whose mildness bespeaks so much in his favour: there is no danger of his failing in Spain; and the sooner he makes his appearance there the better."

These expressions of Cevallos, uttered in my presence, appeared to set the stamp to his political faith; and I was, therefore, much astonished on reading the pamphlet which he published in less than a month from that time.

The deputies were introduced into the audience-chamber soon after the ministers had left it. The King spoke to each deputy, and they all appeared well satisfied with their reception; it was late when they returned to Bayonne. On the very next day, those Spaniards who held court employments a week before near the persons of Charles IV. and the two Infantes, began to perform the same honourable duties near King Joseph.

The Spanish notables whom the Emperor had convoked, had for the greater part arrived at Bayonne; they were directed to discuss the constitutional act. The principal clauses of the project were as liberal and proper as could possibly be desired: the public treasury and civil list were kept distinct from each other; the bases of the legislative power were determined; the attributions of the executive authority specially defined; the independence of the judges, the liberty of every citizen, and the freedom of the press irrevocably fixed. The propagation of liberal ideas; the improvements which were to contribute to the progress of agriculture, of manufactures, of sciences, arts, industry, commerce, every thing, in short, that was calculated to secure the prosperity of Spain, was solemnly sanctioned.

The notables hailed this project of a constitution with expressions of gratitude; they made those alterations in it which local customs rendered necessary, and declared the satisfaction they felt at finding their rights now guaranteed to

them. Every thing went on well; and the most flattering anticipations were entertained in respect to the future.

CHAPTER XXVI.

The Grand-duke of Berg falls ill—The author proceeds to Madrid—Instructions given to him by the Emperor—State of the public mind on his arrival—He sends assistance to General Dupont—Cuesta marches against General Bessières—The author recalls the corps which occupied Andalusia—Dupont maintains his position.

It has just been seen how prosperously every thing went on at Bayonne: the case was otherwise in Spain; and, to add to our disappointments, the Grand-duke of Berg was attacked with a serious illness, which made it impossible for him to attend to public business. The Emperor was desirous to wait the arrival of the old regiments which he had ordered to Bayonne previously to sending the King forward, because they were to form a corps of reserve which would garrison the city of Madrid, and be an escort to the King. These regiments, to the number of six, were a part of those who had returned to France after the peace of Tilsit. Nevertheless, as some person was immediately wanted to supply the place of the Grand-duke of Berg, and the Emperor had no opportunity for making a selection at Bayonne, he directed me to proceed to Madrid, where I found myself in a more extraordinary situation than any general officer had ever been placed in. My mission was for the purpose of perusing all the reports addressed to the Grand-duke of Berg, to return answers, and issue orders in every case of emergency; but I was not to affix my signature to any paper: every thing was to be done in the name of General Belliard, in his capacity of

chief of the staff of the army. The Emperor adopted this course, because he intended to send the King forward in a very short time; and felt it to be unnecessary to make any alteration until the King's arrival at Madrid, when I was to be recalled.

He gave me some verbal instructions at the moment of my departure: the substance of them was, that I was to use every endeavour to calm the public mind; and he added, that I should do myself great credit by putting a stop to all disorders. He enjoined me not to lose a moment in restoring an open communication between Madrid and General Dupont, who had been sent to Andalusia, and for the last three weeks past had not been heard of.

"The main object at this moment," he said, "is to occupy many different points of the country, in order to spread amongst the Spaniards those ideas which it is desirable to engraft on their minds; but it requires great prudence and moderation, and the strictest discipline, to avoid the dangers attendant upon dispersing the troops over a vast extent of country. Above all things, you should strictly forbid plunder. I have yet no intelligence of the part adopted by General Castaños, who commands the camp at St. Roque. The Grand-duke certainly informs me of the general having written to him, and he is very sanguine in consequence; but you know how prone he is to place reliance on whatever is said to him.

"You must not undertake any operation for which your disposable forces are inadequate. As to reinforcements, you know the present position of the troops I might send to your assistance; do not therefore place yourself under the necessity of requiring them before they can possibly come up. Endeavour to await the King's arrival. Spread the report of his departure, which I am going to accelerate, and then leave the Spaniards to act; be a mere spectator amongst them; neglect no means, however, of securing a regular and rapid

system of communications: this is a matter of the highest importance, whether the insurrection should extend any farther, or be checked in its progress. The first of all objects is to obtain correct information."

I took my departure, though with some reluctance at being compelled to return to Spain, because I anticipated no favourable result from the course of events in that country; and have always felt a repugnance to interfere in any internal commotions, even when my own political interests should have encouraged me to such interference.

I arrived at Madrid, where I saw uneasiness pictured on the countenances of Spaniards as well as Frenchmen; and one of the greatest obstacles I had to encounter, was in the difficulties I experienced in endeavouring to revive the drooping spirits of all.

The Grand-duke of Berg returned to France a few days after my arrival, with a crowd of young men, who accompanied him for the purpose of soliciting favours and promotions. They had been rendered so difficult to please, that they could not be made to follow the military pursuit with any degree of constancy: they revelled in the pleasures and even in the dangers of a soldier's life; but dreaded the hardships of it.

I had been ordered to take up my quarters in the palace of Madrid, because all the military establishments were in its immediate vicinity, and the troops were on their guard ever since the affair of the 2nd of May. The staff of the army was also stationed there from motives of precaution, so that every one was at hand and within call.

I adopted farther measures of precaution, and fortified the old palace of the Retiro, where I caused an intrenchment to be raised round the porcelain manufactory, from which I turned out every workman. I collected within this enclosure all the warlike stores, as well as the provisions of the army, every person employed in the military administration, the

generals, the depôts of soldiers; and left, in short, in the barracks, no other troops than those which could run to arms and march in any direction at a moment's notice. I forbade that any officer should be quartered any where else than with his soldiers, even if he were compelled to occupy the same room with them.

I found, on my arrival at Madrid, that no news had been received from General Dupont since he had reached Cordova: we were therefore in total ignorance of his position. I ordered General Vedel to join him with his division, which was stationed at Toledo, made him follow the road taken by General Dupont, and profited of the occasion to inform General Dupont of what had taken place at Bayonne, and of the aspect of affairs throughout Spain. I told him that his position in Andalusia was no longer in harmony with the existing state of things, which had greatly altered since his departure to occupy that province; that the Emperor had certainly ordered I should leave him there, because he was still under the impression that the Spanish corps under General Castaños, at the camp of St. Roque, would form a junction with him, since he had set it down to me as part of the troops that would be found under his (Dupont's) orders; but that if I was to rely upon the prevailing reports, the corps of Castaños had actually joined the insurgents. I should wait, however, for his report previously to adopting any determination.

Vedel's division began its movement in advance; and reached General Dupont after seven or eight days' march.

Marshal Moncey, who had been sent to Valencia with a single division, and was forced to penetrate through a wretched road in the mountains of Cuença, had not even been mentioned since his departure; not a word of news had been received from him. I ordered a division to advance under the command of General Frere, for the purpose of opening a communication with him. As I was wholly ignorant of the

point at which Marshal Moncey would stop, I could only direct Frere's division to follow the road he had taken. I learned through this general that the attack upon Valencia had failed of success, and that Marshal Moncey was retreating through Albacette. On receiving this report, I sent Frere's division to San-Clemente, where it overtook Marshal Moncey.

Whilst my attention was directed to the two points occupied by Marshal Moncey and General Dupont, Marshal Bessières, who was at Burgos, informed me that the Spanish general, Cuesta, who was captain-general of Castile or Estramadura, had thrown off the mask, and was marching against us; that he, Bessières, had in consequence collected his corps, and was moving towards Rio Seco. He urged me to send troops to his assistance. I accordingly dispatched a brigade of infantry, with four pieces of cannon, and three hundred cavalry, who joined him after the victory which he gained at Rio Seco over the combined Spanish troops and insurgent forces.

I was also applied to from Saragossa for reinforcements; and the Emperor, moreover, after sending orders from Bayonne to Verdier's division, at Vittoria, to march upon Saragossa, wrote to me, desiring I should place myself in communication with the corps at Saragossa, by stationing some troops at Calahorra and Calatayud.

The communications between Madrid and Bayonne were becoming obstructed, and even irregular; so that when a reply came to any letter, the state of the question at issue was no longer the same. I clearly saw, from the tenor of the Emperor's letters, that he was completely mistaken in respect to our position; and I resolved to act upon my own judgment. I declined sending any troops to open a communication with Saragossa. The French were blockading it; and it was perfectly indifferent to me whether or not I received any account of the siege. If the Spaniards had defeated them, they had an open country in their rear; and it was quite out of my

power to afford them any assistance. I sent orders to Marshal Moncey to attend to no other object than to give rest to his troops, and to keep up a constant communication with me only.

I secured my own communications with Bayonne beyond the risk of interruption; and waited in this situation for news from General Dupont. My impatience on this subject had rendered me indifferent to every other: they at last came to hand. General Vedel had opened a communication with him, and sent me letters from General Dupont himself, who informed me that, after proceeding as far as Cordova, he had been compelled to retreat to Andujar, where he preserved a tête-de-pont on the Guadalquivir. He gave me an account of the insurrection in Andalusia, and the part taken in it by the corps of General Castaños, which had quitted its encampment within the lines of St. Roque, and was then in front of him.

The war was assuming in that part of the country a character which it was highly important to change by an early and a decisive success, instead of which we experienced a most disastrous defeat. I had intimated to the Emperor that, notwithstanding his instructions, I should take upon myself to withdraw the corps from Andalusia, as I apprehended it would be out of my power to afford it any assistance. He replied that I was in error, that I ought to leave it in that province, and firmly establish my communication with Andujar, so as to recall it at a moment's notice.

Notwithstanding the Emperor's order, I still persisted in my opinion; and whilst I apprised General Dupont that the Emperor directed me to leave him in Andalusia until the very last extremity, I took upon myself to desire he would immediately evacuate that province, recross the mountains, and establish his corps in the province of La Mancha. I urged him not to suffer himself to be led astray by the pride of an obstinacy which might be attended with the most fatal

consequences; and I used this expression in writing to him! *above all things, be on your guard against a misfortune, the results of which it is impossible to foresee.*

My letter was delivered by Vedel to General Dupont, who acknowledged its receipt; and I sent the Emperor a copy of both.* He persisted in his determination to remain in Andalusia, observing that he should have nothing to fear from the troops of Castaños, so soon as he should have collected his scattered forces. When this letter came to my hands, matters had taken a more unfavourable turn on the other points of Spain; and the apprehensions I felt for his safety were considerably increased.

I resolved to send off a third division, that of General Gobert, to which I added the only brigade of cuirassiers we had in Spain, and ordered it to take up a position at Manzanares, in La Mancha, and open a communication with General Vedel. I also handed to him a letter he was to forward to General Dupont, whom I therein apprised of my sending Gobert's division to protect his retreat, which I foresaw to be unavoidable, but by no means to assist in any offensive operations in front, which I strictly forbade him to attempt; and I told him accordingly, that he was not at liberty to call that division to join him, unless the safety of the two divisions which he had under his orders, should be endangered.

I directed General Gobert, at the same time, to inform me of every order he might receive from General Dupont.

As soon as he had reached the line of communication of General Vedel, he sent my dispatch to General Dupont,

* When I was asked, by the Emperor's orders, for certain details respecting the instructions I might have given to General Dupont, the copy of that letter was one of the documents exhibited in support of the inquiry into the conduct of General Dupont; but that document had disappeared when the council of state pronounced judgment upon the case. I am glad that this circumstance should have been of use to General Dupont; but there is great injustice in rendering a service to one party, and exposing the other to be charged with a want of proper foresight.

whose only reply was an order to General Gobert to cross the Sierra Morena, and form a junction with him. General Gobert gave me intimation of this order; it threw me into a state of agitation I am at a loss to explain, and which was only allayed by the confidence I entertained in the prudence and talents of General Dupont. Nevertheless, I was unable to resist the gloomy forebodings to which my mind was a prey. I rose up in the night to write a few lines to that general, desiring him in the most forcible language to recross the Sierra Morena with his three divisions, and put himself in communication with me as soon as possible. I requested General Belliard to send this letter off immediately by an officer of his staff, with a proper escort, so that there might be no doubt of his safe arrival. M. de Fénelon was the officer intrusted with the mission.

CHAPTER XXVII.

M. de Fénelon is carried off—His dispatches are transmitted to Castaños—False movements of our generals—The Spaniards intercept our communications—General Vedel puts the enemy to the rout—Inaction of General Castaños—M. Villoutray—Extraordinary feeling of uneasiness entertained by that officer—Reciprocal position—Castaños deceives Dupont—Capitulation—General Legendre.

THE unfortunate occurrences which occasioned the failure of the Emperor's enterprise upon Spain, date from this moment; and they require to be stated in detail.

M. de Fénelon was taken prisoner in Andalusia, as he was descending the Sierra Morena; his dispatches were carried to General Castaños, at the moment he was compelling the plenipotentiaries of General Dupont to conclude the first and

most disgraceful transaction that has ever tarnished the glory of our arms.

This unfortunate occurrence had been brought about in the following manner:—

General Dupont was at Andujar with one of his divisions, General Barbou's, I believe; and had a strong detachment at Mengibar, on the Guadalquivir, a few leagues above Andujar. He accordingly protected the tête-de-pont of Andujar, whilst he was watching the ferry of Mengibar, where the Guadalquivir is usually crossed. He had ordered Vedel's division to Baylen, on the road from the Sierra Morena to Andujar, at the distance of four leagues from the latter town, and the division of General Gobert to La Carolina, four leagues in the rear of it;* so that the three divisions, being at the distance of only a few leagues from each other, might, in case of need, be brought together in the course of the day.

It was in the middle of June, and the heat was excessive, particularly in Andalusia. The Spaniards advanced to attack the tête-de-pont of Andujar, on the 14th or 15th of June, and crossed the river at Mengibar in small numbers. General Dupont sent orders to General Vedel, who was stationed at Baylen, to oppose the passage at Mengibar, from whence he was withdrawing the troops he had posted there, as he stood in need of them at Andujar, where an attack was made upon him; and he ordered, at the same time, Gobert's division to advance from La Carolina to Baylen, which had just been left by General Vedel's division. This movement was correctly executed.

The first attack of the Spaniards was undeserving of attention; but it was renewed on the following day, and threatened more serious consequences.

General Dupont ordered to Andujar Vedel's division, which he had sent from Baylen to Mengibar on the preceding

* Spanish leagues are much longer than French leagues.

day; and it was under the necessity of moving off at the moment when the Spaniards were manifesting the intention to cross the river; Vedel fortunately left there a brigade, under General Liger-Belair, who called General Gobert to his assistance. General Dupont had directed Gobert's division, which was at Baylen, to replace General Vedel at Mengibar. General Gobert found that the enemy were already on the right bank of the Guadalquivir; determined to charge them at the head of a squadron of cuirassiers, and was killed in this trifling affray by over-exposing his person. This event, which would have been very unimportant at any other time, proved of fatal consequence on the present occasion.

He was replaced in the command of his division by the general of brigade, Dufour, who was at the head of the column of infantry, at some distance in the rear, when the news was brought to him that it fell to his turn to command the division; this general was, no doubt, ignorant of the movements that were to be carried into effect, as well as of the instructions given to General Gobert; so that he was led astray by all the reports brought to him, and by the one, amongst others, which informed him that the enemy had turned his left; an absurd supposition, since there was nothing more than a small ferry at Mengibar, which was quite inadequate to the purpose of conveying across the number of troops requisite for such an operation. It was not even attempted by the Spanish division, stationed at Mengibar, under the orders of the Swiss general, Reding; and had General Dufour pushed on as far as Mengibar, he would have immediately ascertained whether or not any troops had crossed over to the right bank.

Deceived by this report, General Dufour set off with his division, abandoned the idea of approaching the river, and proceeded to meet the enemy, whom he supposed to have turned his left. He took the road back to Baylen, at which place he was informed, as he said, that they had made their

appearance at Linares, on their march towards the mountains, with the intention, no doubt, of intercepting the communication with Madrid. On receiving this fresh report, he advanced from Baylen to La Carolina, taking the precaution to apprise General Dupont of his movement, and of his motive for resorting to it.* The latter not only approved of it, according to Dufour's account, but sent immediately Vedel's division to Baylen, for the purpose of supporting General Dufour, whom he actually supposed to be in advance of him, and assuredly not running after a shadow, which could not have deceived a mere captain of horse chasseurs.

General Vedel arrived at Baylen,† where he stayed the whole day, and learned that General Dufour was in full march upon La Carolina, where he expected to come up with the enemy. This intelligence was communicated in so positive a manner, that it never occurred to General Vedel to send a reconnoitring party to Mengibar, at which place M. de Reding was stationed, presuming as he did that General Dufour had taken that precaution previously to adopting the determination of marching upon La Carolina with the whole of his division. As he had orders to support General Dufour's movement, he intimated to General Dupont that, in conformity with his instructions, he was about to move the next morning upon La Carolina with his division, and sent this communication to him at Andujar, where he had remained with Barbou's division.

The letter was brought to him by a quarter-master of the regiment of horse chasseurs, escorted by thirteen men of that corps, who started at night from Baylen on their way to Andujar, arrived at an early hour in the morning, and properly executed their commission. General Dupont immediately replied

* General Dupont declared that he never received any intimation of this movement; it remains, therefore, for Dufour to explain it.

† Andujar, Baylen, and La Carolina, are at the distance of an ordinary day's march from each other.

to General Vedel; that he approved of his advancing to form a junction with General Dufour, and intimated his intention to quit Andujar on the following day, the 17th, for the purpose of overtaking them. He sent this answer by the bearer of the letter to him, who passed again through Baylen at daybreak of the morning after General Vedel's departure. No hostile troops had as yet made their appearance at Baylen; and the quarter-master proceeded on his way to La Carolina, where he arrived without any accident, and handed General Dupont's dispatches to General Vedel.

It is difficult to account for General Dupont's not having broken up from his position on the 17th, instead of putting off that movement until the following day; he was not only authorised to retreat, but I had expressly ordered him to adopt that course. He knew how affairs went on in his rear; and even admitting he should have suspected that General Dufour was imposed upon by false information, ought he not to have considered that by remaining at Andujar, he was about to be involved in the same embarrassment into which he had been thrown previously to his being joined by the two divisions I had sent to him at his own earnest request? I am ignorant of the motive which induced him not to depart until the day after he had been overtaken by the quarter-master sent to him by General Vedel; the consequence, however, of such conduct will be seen by the sequel of this narrative.

The Spanish general, Reding, (a native of Switzerland) had remained at Mengibar, without any intention of turning General Dufour, who was, perhaps, in greater strength than himself: he confined his movements, therefore, to watching Dufour's march upon La Carolina, without affording any indication of the plan which he meditated carrying into effect; and when he found that General Dupont had remained at Andujar with a solitary division, he crossed the Guadalquivir at Mengibar, and took up a position at Baylen, on the direct line of communication between Dupont's and Vedel's

divisions. He had full leisure to establish himself, and to prepare to meet General Dupont, who, in fact, arrived in the morning, having marched the whole night, for the purpose of avoiding the heat, and who was astonished beyond measure at finding in Baylen the Spanish troops which he imagined were closely pursued by Dufour's and Vedel's divisions.

He had but one course to adopt, and accordingly prepared to give battle, in order to force his way through the enemy: the Spaniards had foreseen this, and had secured their retreat upon Mengibar, whatever might be the result of the battle. The cannonading commenced. A variety of idle and false reports have been circulated in regard to this engagement, both as to the manner in which it commenced, and that in which it was followed up, as well as respecting the motives for keeping the best troops employed in another direction.* The truth is, that the soldiers were exhausted with fatigue, and the next day's heat added to that exhaustion, whilst not a drop of water could be procured to relieve it. No native of a temperate climate can form an idea of the severity of this privation. Another untoward circumstance was the illness of General Dupont, who was not, therefore, in possession of all his moral strength to meet this emergency.

M. de Reding was sensible of the awkwardness of his position, when he found that he gained no advantage over troops which he expected to take prisoners as soon as he should have attacked them; and especially when he was informed, in the heat of the action, that the troops which had taken the road to La Carolina (those under Generals Dufour and Vedel) were marching back on their return to Baylen, and would soon make their appearance. M. de Reding, however, extricated himself with great skill from the danger into which such an untoward event would have placed him. He took advan-

* It was alleged that they were employed to mount guard over the caissons containing the private property of some of the general officers.

tage of the moment when General Dupont could not yet be apprised of the march of Generals Vedel and Dufour, and sent to propose a suspension of arms, in order, if possible, to come to an understanding. This proposal was the more suitable to General Dupont's wishes, as it would at least procure some rest for his troops, who stood greatly in need of it.

He accepted the proposal, and sent some of his officers to General Reding, for the purpose of fixing upon the positions to be taken up by the respective armies, and upon the conditions of an armistice, which was immediately afterwards concluded. He had also taken the precaution of sending a reconnoitring party as far as possible on the road to Andujar, from whence he had lately arrived, so as to receive timely information of the approach of the Spanish corps under General Castaños, presuming that this general would have hastened to pursue him the moment his departure from Andujar should have become known.

The armistice had been but a few hours in operation when General Vedel came in sight of the Spaniards on the other side of Baylen, which, being occupied by the Spaniards, was the only obstacle to interrupt his immediate communication with General Dupont.

As soon as General Vedel found himself near the enemy, he commenced the attack, and drove every thing before him, compelling the Spanish regiment of Jaen to throw down its arms, forcing it from its position, and carrying off the two pieces of artillery by which it was protected. Had he persevered in his efforts, he would have completed the defeat of General Reding, who, if he escaped capture or destruction, would at least have had to stipulate for his own safety in the conditions that were to follow the existing armistice, which he turned, however, to a very different account.

During the brunt of the action, he sent a flag of truce to apprise General Vedel of what had taken place between him

and General Dupont, with whom he had concluded an armistice. General Vedel turned a deaf ear to all that was said to him, and continued to follow up the advantage he had gained, when M. de Reding's perseverance suggested to him the idea of rendering General Dupont himself subservient to his purpose. He accordingly prevailed upon him to intimate an order to General Vedel to suspend the attack, and to include him in the armistice, by sending M. Barbara, one of his aides-de-camp, with directions to him to conform to the clauses agreed upon. Vedel received a second order from Dupont, directing him to return to General Reding the regiment of Jaen, and the artillery he had captured, those occurrences having taken place, it was alleged, subsequently to the armistice concluded with Barbou's division, with which, however, General Vedel was altogether unconnected.

General Vedel no sooner found himself in communication with his general-in-chief, who sent him orders through an officer of his staff, than he paid obedience to them. It was the business of the general-in-chief to take advantage of the recent occurrence, so far at least as to improve his own position, if it did not enter into his views to effect the destruction of General Reding, who, by the conduct adopted, was suffered to retain his position at Baylen, between Dupont's division on the one side, and those of Vedel and Dufour on the other, or, in other words, in the midst of three times his own numbers. He had the resolution to wait there the arrival of his general-in-chief, General Castaños, with whom he could only keep up a communication through Mengibar and the left bank of the Guadalquivir; nor would Castaños have come up so rapidly, had it not been for the most incredible blunder ever committed by any officer, even of the most limited talents: it could only be put to the account of utter cowardice or treachery.

Dupont had ordered M. de Villoutray, an officer of the

staff, to advance as far as possible on the road to Andujar, for the purpose of obtaining news of the advance of General Castaños. At the time when this officer received General Dupont's instructions, the armistice had been concluded with General Reding. I would defy the shrewdest person to guess what, on this occasion, was his conduct, such as he himself related it to me, when he came to Madrid to inform me of the disastrous fate of the whole corps.

He proceeded from Baylen as far as the first stage on the road to Andujar, being a distance of about two Spanish leagues, equivalent to three French leagues; reconnoitred a little farther on, and did not meet a single human being: the utmost silence was prevailing around him, when he suddenly heard a firing of cannon and musketry in the direction of Baylen. It never occurred to him that the firing was likely to proceed from General Vedel, who he might suppose had returned from La Carolina, in consequence of the report of General Dupont's own firing, which must have been heard the whole morning between Baylen and that place, and would have necessarily determined General Vedel to retrace his steps.

Neither did it occur to him that General Dupont might be renewing the attempt to force his way, or be defending himself against some act of treachery, by which it was perhaps endeavoured to entrap him in his new position; and instead of returning in all haste to Baylen, in order to communicate his observations to General Dupont, and acquaint him that, under any circumstances, five or six hours must elapse before General Castaños could make his appearance, when he might in the interval, if necessary, have been sent a second time to reconnoitre, that officer adopted the very opposite course. He proceeded to meet General Castaños, whom he found at Andujar, making preparations to advance to Baylen. Perhaps he had even commenced his movement; but he was perfectly ignorant of what was going forward at Baylen, not having

yet received General Reding's dispatch, which reported his proceedings.

He was thus officiously made acquainted with all that had taken place, through an officer of the staff of General Dupont, who informed him that his arrival was expected for the purpose of treating on the subject of the evacuation of Andalusia by the French troops. M. de Castaños was no sooner apprised of this state of things, and of the awkward position of General Dupont, than he accelerated his departure, and hastened the march of his army, in order to augment General Dupont's embarrassment, from which the latter was already at a loss how to extricate himself.

I leave the reader to reflect upon this blunder, and upon what might have happened to Reding's division, if the staff-officer, instead of going to seek for General Castaños, had returned to inform Dupont of the number of hours upon which he might safely rely, previously to his being attacked in the direction of Andujar, since not a human being had been seen for the distance of five leagues on the road. Vedel and Dufour had arrived; and it was easy for Dupont to capture the whole of Reding's division, and afterwards to annihilate the corps of General Castaños, over which he would have had an immense numerical advantage.

Barbou's division, under the immediate command of General Dupont, was placed, by the arrival of Castaños, in the most critical position. The Spaniards exerted themselves to prevent all communication between it and Vedel's and Dufour's divisions; by which means they would make sure of all the terms it was their intention to enforce. If General Dupont's three divisions had been enabled to form a junction, as they ought to have done, but for the errors committed by his generals, I entertain no doubt that, notwithstanding his infirm state of health, he would have given a good account of Generals Castaños and Reding; but in the unfortunate position in which he had been placed by the incapacity of

the officers under his orders, he had scarcely any other resource left than to endeavour to make terms.

He had by chance near his person General Marescot, first inspector-general of engineers, whom the Emperor had sent to effect a reconnoitring in Andalusia, and who, in attention to his personal safety, had joined the corps of General Dupont. He was appointed with General Legendre and other officers to assist at the conferences. They were opened in the town of Baylen, at the residence of General Castaños, who was likewise attended by several Spanish general-officers. The plenipotentiaries of General Dupont demanded an unmolested retreat through the Sierra Morena for the several corps on their return to Madrid. To this demand they should have firmly adhered, as the Spaniards had no other advantage over General Dupont except that of keeping Barbou's division separated from Generals Vedel and Dufour's divisions, by the position which General Reding occupied at Baylen, which might at the same time be considered as cut off from General Castaños by the very position held by Barbou's division, which effectually separated Reding from that general. There existed therefore no motive for imposing upon the French division of General Barbou those conditions, which might with equal propriety have been imposed upon the Spanish division of General Reding, placed as it was in circumstances precisely similar; in other words, there existed no ground whatever for entering upon any negotiation; and the conduct of the French generals on the occasion argued an absolute want of common sense. It was laid down as a principle, by some unexampled absurdity of reasoning, that the French were suing for conditions, and that the Spaniards were at liberty to grant or refuse them; nor was a single voice heard to enforce the observations I have just laid down.

General Castaños, however, failed not to discover that his own division under Reding was at least in as imminent dan-

ger as Barbou's division; and that, when dispassionately considered, the engagement between them had been productive of no result. There had been no loss of artillery, no battalions taken;* none of those events, in short, which afford decisive proofs of inferiority or success. He considered, besides, that the corps of Dupont, if once united, would greatly exceed his numbers in point of cavalry and artillery; and there could be no doubt of his effecting a junction after a few more efforts on the part of General Vedel, who was impatient for battle, and to whose attack the Spanish general-in-chief could offer no opposition. The advanced posts of Vedel and Barbou were not at a greater distance than five hundred toises from each other. General Castaños was in person at Baylen, with the corps of General Reding. He would have had to penetrate through Barbou's division before he could get back to his own corps on the road of Andujar; and he naturally feared, that if the conferences were broken up without any thing being determined upon, some suspicion would arise of the deception intended, the consequence of which would recoil upon himself. He deemed it preferable, therefore, not to mar the piece of good fortune which chance threw in his way, by attempting to gain too much; and he accordingly consented to allow a free retreat to the whole of the corps in Andalusia through the Sierra Morena: an act to this effect was drawn up, and signed upon the spot.

Every thing was concluded, when Castaños was put in possession of the dispatches taken upon young M. de Fénelon, whom I had ordered to be sent off from Madrid with my letter to General Dupont, in which I imperatively desired that general to bring back his corps from Andalusia to Madrid, inform me of the progress of his route, and whether

* General Vedel, on the contrary, had taken the Spanish regiment of Jaen prisoner; though he had certainly been directed to set it at liberty.

he was pursued by any Spanish forces, as in that case I should march to join him with all the troops I might be able to collect.

After perusing the dispatch, General Castaños called General Dupont's plenipotentiaries, one after the other, into an adjoining apartment, and said to them, "Gentlemen, I had just consented to your return to Madrid through the Sierra Morena, with all the troops under your orders. I regret the untoward circumstance which now comes in the way; but here is a letter from your general-in-chief, ordering General Dupont to return to Madrid, a measure I am bound to oppose. I must therefore alter my determination, and we shall treat of other arrangements." M. de Villoutray, who was present at this meeting, repeated to me every expression of my letter, word for word, having seen it in the hands of General Castaños, and immediately recognised my writing, to the genuineness of which he bore testimony before Generals Marescot, Legendre, Pannetier, and every other French officer present.*

It was therefore established beyond a doubt, that I had written the letter, and ordered the retreat to Madrid. It mattered not by what means my intentions had been made known; my hand-writing and signature were admitted to be genuine: it became, therefore, a point of duty to exert at least every endeavour in order to carry my instructions into effect, unless prevented by a superior force, or by circumstances of a paramount importance. Now the movement which I had ordered was in perfect accordance with what was laid down in the conditions just granted by General Castaños. Why had they been obtained previously to my letter being made known? Because General Castaños felt he could not venture to impose severer ones upon an army

* M. de Villoutray was one of the Emperor's equerries. He had expressed a desire to serve in a military capacity, and had accordingly been sent to Spain.

well able to cope with, and perhaps defeat him. My letter was not in any way calculated to diminish the strength of General Dupont's corps, which continued what it was before its contents became known to the enemy: it created, therefore, no change in his position, but rather, on the contrary, imposed upon him the obligation of having recourse to arms, if he had chanced to obtain terms less advantageous than a compliance with my orders would require him to insist upon, since his corps was still complete and unbroken, when he became acquainted with those orders; and it required nothing short of a perversion of reasoning to urge my letter as a ground for adopting a course in direct opposition to its injunctions.

Admitting even the supposition that, being myself deceived by false reports, I had given him by that letter such orders as would have placed him in a position less advantageous than what he had already secured by the conditions agreed upon, it was his bounden duty not to relax in any of the pretensions which his late superiority in the field gave him an undoubted right to assert, especially when they had been assented to previously to the receipt of my orders, to which he might, under such circumstances, have refused his compliance.

This mode of reasoning is a settled axiom in the profession; and I have too high an opinion of General Dupont to doubt for a moment, that if his health had been in a condition to permit him to mount his horse and come in person to pronounce judgment upon his enemies, and plead his own cause, his affairs would have taken a very different turn; whereas they were committed to the care of men who were anxious to extricate themselves at his expense, and were not ashamed to assent to General Castaños' observations as just and well-founded. The result of this occurrence was, that they entered into a fresh negotiation, after having annulled the original terms of capitulation.

It would hardly be believed that, without firing a single cannon or musket-shot since the first capitulation, they gave their signatures to another, by which they surrendered the whole corps as prisoners of war, to be conveyed back to France by sea, after filing off and laying down their arms; to which latter clause was annexed the unmeaning condition that the arms should be restored to them on the moment of their embarkation for France? In short, the infamy of their conduct was such that they did not even reject an article introduced by the Spanish general into the capitulation, by which dishonour was heaped upon the unfortunate soldiers who were thus basely sacrificed. They were compelled to lay down their knapsacks; and under pretence of procuring the restitution of church property, which they were accused of having stolen, to submit to a revolting search. This second capitulation enacted that a certain number of caissons were not to be subjected to the search. Why! these were the very ones that should have been most strictly examined.

At last, after these disgraceful stipulations had been signed, arrangements were made for carrying them immediately into effect; and General Barbou's division was the first to file off. Generals Vedel and Dufour, whose position had not been turned, no sooner learned what was going forward than they made their own arrangements to retreat as soon as night should come on, and took the road back to La Carolina, which they followed for the space of two days.

The Spaniards having discovered this movement, and possessing no means of opposing the retreat of those two divisions, adopted the following contrivance: they declared to General Dupont, that if those divisions did not submit to the conditions of the capitulation in which it had been intended to include them, they on their part would refuse to execute its conditions in what related to Barbou's division; which they would treat with all the severity which the law of reprisals would justify; nor could they answer for the out-

rages to which an indignant population might be driven by this breach of good faith.

The spirit of blundering appeared truly infectious; this threat had such an effect, owing to reasons of which shame forbids the mention, that General Legendre, who was chief of the staff of the whole corps, was sent after Vedel's and Dufour's divisions, with directions to order them back. They were already at the distance of four leagues beyond La Carolina when he overtook them; and without making any other observation to the two generals than that they were included in a capitulation for evacuating the province, which had been signed between General Dupont and General Castaños, he desired them, in the name of General Dupont, to bring back their divisions; and even found fault with them for having left the field of battle without orders, and thereby exposed Barbou's division to the danger of being cut to pieces. This General Legendre took especial care not to inform the two generals that he was recalling them for the purpose of their laying down their arms, although he had already set about disarming Barbou's division previously to his coming in quest of Generals Vedel and Dufour, whom he was intentionally imposing upon.

These two generals have been blamed for yielding obedience. I doubt whether, under existing circumstances, they could have ventured to disobey. Would they have been justified in suspecting any snare in what the chief of the staff of the whole corps was stating to them in the name of their general-in-chief? Assuredly not: such a principle, if once admitted, would be productive of the most serious consequences in war, where young men are usually the bearers of the general's orders. Will implicit reliance be placed upon their reports when the parties are not personally known, if it be permitted to doubt the veracity of the chief of the staff of a whole corps, who is himself the bearer of the general-in-chief's orders, especially when he conceals from your knowledge that the

object in view is to deliver up a whole corps of troops to the hostile army?

Both divisions, in short, returned to Baylen, which Barbou's division had left several days before. They were given up to the Spanish generals, who separated and disarmed them, and afterwards marched them in the direction of Seville.

General Dupont thus surrendered an effective force of twenty-one thousand infantry, forty pieces of cannon, and two thousand four hundred cavalry; in short, a full third of the French forces in Spain.

General Legendre might have saved Dufour's and Vedel's divisions, had he thought proper to do so; he had only to follow them instead of bringing them back to dishonour: it was however an object of much greater importance for all parties to keep an eye upon the caissons preserved from the enemy, and rescued from the general search. Each one, at last, had to pay the forfeit of his blunders: the soldiers, feeling indignant at being subjected to such a disgraceful search, pointed out to the attention of the Spaniards those caissons which they considered as the real cause of the affront put upon them, and said that they were much more likely receptacles than the knapsacks, for the objects of which they were in quest. The Spaniards needed no excitement to go to work; and the plunderers were plundered in their turn. Had General Dupont begun by taking that precaution when he commenced his march, he would have found every one well disposed to perform his duty.

This unfortunate army was sacrificed to the error of judgment into which its commander had fallen; the insurrectional junta of Andalusia refused to ratify the capitulation; the whole of the troops were taken prisoners, and either died of fatigue or of ill-treatment in the Spanish prisons: the most fortunate were those who succeeded in being delivered up to the English.

General Dupont could not avoid rendering me an account of this disastrous event; he addressed me a very laconic letter, containing the capitulation he had ratified, and instructed M. de Villoutray to proceed with it to Madrid, and deliver it into my hands. We shall presently see in what manner he arrived there. Let us now return to Bayonne.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Unfavourable impression created in Spain by the disastrous event at Baylen—La Romana and Bernadotte—Joseph's entry into Madrid—M. de Villoutray again—The author's opinion as to what ought to have been done—Events in Portugal—Admiral Siniavin.

THE Emperor had just sent King Joseph to Madrid with the Spanish deputies. This numerous retinue was escorted by two old regiments of light infantry, and advanced accordingly by slow marches. The flattering hope was already gaining ground, that a recourse to mild measures would have the effect of conciliating; and it was anticipated that so soon as the cortége should have arrived at Madrid, there would be a possibility of setting in earnest about giving effect to all the plans calculated to inspire confidence in the new government; of which plans nothing more than a sketch had been laid down at Bayonne. At no place was any enthusiasm evinced towards the King; but he was received every where with marks of respect: his cause had even gained ground by his making himself personally known.

As ill luck would have it, the news of General Dupont's defeat was brought by couriers to Burgos nearly at the moment of the King's arrival in that city, because the juntas of Cordova and of Seville were extremely active in their communications; and although the corps of General Dupont had not

yet been taken prisoners, the events likely to occur were anticipated by public opinion, which was struck at these occurrences; and fear accordingly kept back many Spaniards who, as is the case in every country, would have cheerfully embarked in any new enterprise, but were desirous, beforehand, of seeing some hopes of success. They resolved, therefore, to wait for a confirmation of the event previously to taking part in the struggle.*

The suite of deputies was daily diminishing, so that the King was almost alone when he reached the country residence of Chamartin, two leagues from Madrid, on the morning of the 21st of June. The intelligence from Andalusia was beginning to circulate through the city, where it had arrived through an extraordinary and unusual channel; it was disbelieved by every one of our party, and by myself in particular, because I could not conceive that General Dupont should not have made the least communication to me upon the subject. Nevertheless, my assurances failed to carry conviction. The first question which the King asked me when I went to Cha-

* I have already had occasion to state, that after the battle of Eylau the Emperor had claimed the assistance of a Spanish corps, which was to be placed at his disposal, in consequence of an agreement formerly entered into with Charles IV. This corps, after marching through France on its way to the banks of the Elbe, was in the vicinity of Hamburgh when the English came to attack Copenhagen and seize upon the Danish fleet. It formed part of the first troops which the Emperor sent under Marshal Bernadotte to the relief of the Danes, and was still in that quarter when the Spanish revolution broke out. On perceiving the turn it was taking, the Emperor intimated to Marshal Bernadotte that he should be on his guard against any attempt of the English to effect the sudden embarkation of that corps which was under the orders of the Marquis de la Romana. Bernadotte replied that he was fully prepared to act, and that he answered for the Marquis de la Romana's friendly intentions. Nevertheless, he had to report, a week afterwards, that the English had effected a landing upon the coast, and embarked the Marquis de la Romana, with seven thousand men of his corps; the arrival of which at Corunna was soon publicly made known.

The remainder were to have embarked a few days later; but measures were adopted to detain them.

martin to take his orders, was respecting the reports from Andalusia, which had already reached his ears. I had no other reply to make than that I could not bring myself to believe that any misfortune had happened in that quarter.

King Joseph made his entry into Madrid at four in the afternoon of the same day, with no other escort than the Emperor's guard. I ordered the garrison to be under arms, and placed it in reserve in all the squares, so as to be ready to act, if necessary, at a moment's notice.

Although the King's suite was numerous, he was accompanied by no other Spaniard than the Captain-general of Navarre; the ministers and deputies who had left Bayonne in his train had already deserted him. The inhabitants manifested some degree of curiosity, and even gave some signs of approbation; public decorum, however, was not in the least interrupted. The Walloon guards were under arms, and lined the approach to the palace, where the King alighted about five o'clock in the afternoon of the 21st of June. On the following day he gave audience to the municipal authorities of the city of Madrid, and to some Spaniards of distinction; and immediately bent his attention to inquire into the state of affairs. It is highly probable that custom would have gradually reconciled every thing which at first was revolting to Spanish pride in this revolution, when a due consideration should have been given to the many advantages the several classes must derive from a change which was intended to equalize, to a certain extent, the different conditions of society. Unfortunately, however, all the private letters confirmed the report of General Dupont's disaster; and they furnished details which no longer left any doubt on the subject; and I learned, at last, from the commandant of one of the battalions placed along the line of communication from Madrid to the Sierra Morena, that M. de Villoutray had just passed by his station on his way to Madrid, under an escort of a Spanish officer with a detachment of Spanish

cavalry from Baylen, and was the bearer of General Dupont's capitulation.

I immediately sent instructions to the commandant of Aranjuez to stop the Spanish detachment, to detain it until further orders, and to send off M. de Villoutray in all speed to Madrid, where he arrived on the 29th of June, bringing with him the act concluded between General Dupont and General Castaños subsequently to the event of the 20th of that month.

This officer only furnished me at first some obscure details which tended to heighten my curiosity. I asked him why he had brought to Madrid an escort of Spanish cavalry, where their presence was calculated to create a commotion, instead of leaving them at the Puerto of the Sierra Morena, and taking for his escort the two battalions which guarded the pass, since he was returning back by easy journeys. After a short hesitation,* he acknowledged that the idea had not occurred to him, and that he imagined himself under safer protection with his Spanish escort, whilst penetrating through a country which he represented to be in a state of insurrection. "I make no doubt at least," I replied to him, "that you apprised these battalions of what had happened to General Dupont; and made a similar communication to those you must have found at Valdepenas, Manzanares, and Madrilejos, as well as to the brigade of General Laval, which you fell in with on your way: as you report that the country is in a state of insurrection, it will now be extremely difficult to communicate with those scattered troops."

He answered that, in his capacity as bearer of a flag of truce, he did not feel warranted in saying any thing to them;

* I afterwards ascertained the real motive of M. de Villoutray's taking a Spanish guard for his escort, and of his travelling by easy journeys: the fact is, that he travelled in his own calash, drawn by his own horses, and loaded with articles which were not subjected to the search. They were the only articles saved of all that belonged to the corps.

but, on our return to Paris at a later period, he acknowledged to me that from the Puerto of the Sierra Morena, where he had found the two battalions which guarded the pass, he had written to Castaños to send for them, as forming part of the corps in Andalusia, so far was he from cautioning or advising them to retreat. Military men who may read these Memoirs will hardly credit such unaccountable folly; and will not fail to pity General Dupont for being under the necessity of employing such agents in his service."

General Castaños did not fail to take advantage of the advice given to him, and found a more effectual assistant in M. de Villoutray, during the whole of his campaign, than in any officer of the Spanish army.

King Joseph sent for me as soon as he received the news, for the purpose of our considering together what course he ought to pursue in the existing emergency. I recommended the immediate recall of Marshal Moncey's corps, which was still stationed between San-Clemente and Aranjuez; that he should send an intimation of what had taken place to Marshal Bessières, who was already in motion in the kingdom of Leon; and make a similar intimation to General Verdier, who was still besieging Saragossa, in order that he might be on his guard against an insurrection, which was likely to occur after the late event; and I laid particular stress upon the necessity of immediately withdrawing from Madrid the hospitals and the several military administrations, and leaving in the capital such troops only as were in a condition to act at a moment's notice.

The King issued his orders immediately for carrying these measures into effect; but he further asked whether I was of opinion that we could maintain ourselves in Spain after General Dupont's misfortune. I candidly told him that I doubted it; that we could hope for no assistance from France, where no troops were to be had, unless they should be withdrawn from the grand army on the banks of the Oder; and

that previously to their arrival, an imprudent obstinacy on our part might involve us in fresh misfortunes, because the spell which had hitherto clung to our arms had met with a check of such a nature as to encourage a general insurrection, which would be the more daring in its progress, as it would only have to encounter some isolated corps composed of very young soldiers, who might afford them opportunities for fresh successes of a still easier description than the one which we had had so little reason to apprehend.

"In that case, then," said the King, "you would recommend our evacuating Madrid?"

"Unquestionably, Sire," I replied, "as soon as General Castaños shall make his appearance in La Mancha, although Madrid be the capital of the kingdom, and notwithstanding the advantages we might derive from the fortification of the Retiro; because, if Castaños should approach, he would act in concert with an insurrectionary movement which would break out in the heart of the capital, and along the road from Madrid to Burgos: he now possesses a great moral superiority over us; he is aware that the troops we have to oppose him do not exceed in number the forces of General Dupont; he will take especial care, therefore, not to miss another opportunity of acquiring fresh laurels which may appear to be placed within his grasp.—But what will the Emperor say? The Emperor will scold, no doubt; but words are not blows. What would he not say, if we were to furnish him a second representation of the part acted at Baylen? I am quite sure that if he were now at Madrid, he would never dream of quitting it: true it is that his presence never fails to command implicit obedience, and silence all complaint. How different the case is with us! whatever orders we may give, we find every one coming forward with excuses of fatigue or ill-health; whereas a look of the Emperor would be sufficient to rouse all those indolent men to action. No one can pretend to tread in the Emperor's footsteps: woe be to him who shall

presume to imitate his example; he would be lost in the attempt. I am of opinion, that a report should immediately be made to him of all that has taken place; the necessary consequence of which will readily occur to his mind. There will be full time to receive his orders, before we shall have removed to too great a distance for carrying them into effect. With those scanty means, besides, which are at our disposal, and unaided by any party in the nation, the affairs of Spain must return within limits, the extent of which I cannot take upon myself to determine: we must of necessity adopt another course; and it is, moreover, possible, that Dupont's disaster may be the signal for a fresh conflagration in Europe. The Emperor is well aware of his position; we must therefore take care not to urge him on farther than it is his wish to go, because at present it belongs to him alone to conquer Spain, and to consider what risks he is willing to run in the struggle."

Here ended our conversation. Not only was the insurrection gaining upon us in Spain, but the aspect of our affairs was much worse in Portugal. The English had just effected a landing of troops at Cintra, near the mouth of the Tagus. General Junot, who commanded in that country, was unable to encounter them with forces united, because he had received orders to form them into many detachments; one amongst the rest consisting of a whole brigade which was marching through the Alentejo for the purpose of joining General Dupont. This movement had been ordered at the time of the departure from Madrid of the corps under General Dupont. Its first destination was Cadiz, where we still had six line of battle ships, which had remained in that harbour ever since the catastrophe at Trafalgar.

When General Dupont was compelled to abandon Cordova, the means of communication became so difficult, that General Junot could not be apprised of that movement. He had likewise sent another strong detachment in the direction of

Elvas, for the purpose of opposing the attacks meditated by the Spanish insurgents who had collected at Badajoz. It was hopeless therefore for him to expect any signal advantage over the English troops, whose numbers had been proportioned to the extent of our own forces in Portugal. He immediately recalled all his detachments; but they were unable to join the main body previously to the battle, which he was under the necessity of fighting with the English army. No event was more calculated to retrieve our affairs in Spain than a decisive success of General Junot on that occasion; it was the first onset of the English troops in the Peninsula; but instead of being defeated, they reaped the laurels of victory.

When General Junot first entered Lisbon, he found the Russian squadron at anchor in the harbour; it had put into the Tagus on its return from the Mediterranean, in consequence of the information received of the Russian declaration of war against England, an event which made it apprehensive of continuing its voyage to the Baltic. If acting the part of a faithful ally, the Russian admiral had landed the troops and crews he had on board, and taken upon himself the defence of the city, General Junot would have had greater numerical forces at his command; but, whether it proceeded from obstinacy, or from his own private objections to an alliance, which had more than one censurer in Russia, he remained perfectly inactive, a conduct which threw Junot upon his own resources. He fought a battle in which he did not allow the enemy to obtain advantages over him, although it was not productive of any to himself.

I was never correctly informed of the circumstances which preceded that action; the result of it, however, was, that he entered into a negotiation with the English general for the evacuation of Portugal; and he would no doubt have failed in obtaining any other conditions than those of being made prisoner of war, had it not been for the tone of firmness with which he rejected such a proposal. It was owing to that ob-

stinate resolution that he obtained the terms of a simple evacuation of the country, by the embarkation of his troops on board the very transports which had brought over the English army. Our forces were conveyed to Rochefort and La Rochelle.

It would no doubt have been better for him to have brought them back through Spain; but the English refused their consent to it; and the fear of losing many of his soldiers from the insurrectionary movements over the country made him adopt the mode of evacuation by sea. This second untoward event was a death-blow to the prospects of King Joseph; as, independently of its considerably diminishing our forces, it sensibly affected the *moral* of the soldier, and deprived the King of any confidence the people might have reposed in him.

We had great reason to congratulate ourselves on this occasion that the Portuguese troops had been removed to France.* Their numbers were inconsiderable, no doubt; but they were so many enemies less to contend with.

A few days after the arrival at Madrid of the bearer of the capitulation in Andalusia, the battalions in advance along the line of communication from Madrid with that province transmitted a report of the approach of the Spanish army commanded by General Castaños, which had just taken prisoners the two battalions on duty at the pass of the Puerto of the Sierra Morena. This advance was considered in Madrid as a decisive movement against the capital, because M. de Villoutray had kept us in total ignorance of the letter he had written to Castaños on his way through the Sierra Morena, to request he would send to summon those two battalions to surrender. He had taken care to report that

* It has already been seen that General Junot had dispersed the Portuguese army; the Emperor afterwards ordered him to reorganise and send it to Bayonne. One half of the men deserted on the road; the remainder were formed into six fine battalions, and a regiment of horse chasseurs, who served in the French army with so much credit to themselves as to claim the esteem and confidence of every one.

the Spanish army was in considerable numbers; adding, at the same time, that he did not think it would so soon approach the capital; both which assertions appeared to contradict each other.

The determination was however taken to evacuate Madrid. The adoption of this measure might have been delayed for ten or twelve days; but it would eventually have been unavoidable. Nevertheless, such precipitation on our part was ill-judged; because, if we had remained a few days longer, we should have had a more correct knowledge of what had taken place in Andalusia; and the siege of Saragossa might have been followed up; as the capture of that city would have been of important assistance to us in the ensuing campaign, at the very opening of which we had again to employ a considerable force upon that operation. On the other hand, it must be remarked, that the nearest troops which the Emperor could send to our assistance were in Silesia; and it was considered that whatever resolution might be adopted, it would be impossible with the resources at our disposal to maintain our ground until the arrival of the troops which it became necessary to send to our assistance.

King Joseph was induced by these several considerations to order the evacuation of Madrid. It commenced on the 3rd of July, and every thing had been withdrawn on the following day, with the exception of a few sick, whose state of health prevented their removal, and whom it was found necessary to leave in the hospitals.

General Foy speaks of this event in the 118th and following pages of the fourth volume of his work. As he was in Portugal when it occurred, the inaccuracy of his information is not to be wondered at. I was the person who sent from Madrid the corps of General Lefevre-Trevisani to the assistance of Bessières; a movement which took place previously to the return of Moncey's corps and of Frere's division to Madrid:

I was also the person who ordered Laval's corps to advance on the road towards Andalusia.

M. de Villoutray had been sent to me by General Dupont; but as he had claimed the protection of a Spanish escort, and travelled by slow journeys, the couriers of the insurrectionary party had got the start of him; and their reports suggested to me the idea of Laval's movement. The King had already assumed the command when M. de Villoutray arrived at Madrid; and any operation in favour of Dupont would have been in vain, since his troops were no longer in existence; otherwise, we should not have waited for the offer made by Marshal Moncey to proceed to his assistance, an offer which I never heard of until General Foy's work made its appearance. To attempt to assist Dupont, who was at that time almost within sight of Cadiz with his unfortunate soldiers! What resources were there, besides, for following up such an offer? General Foy was well aware that there existed none. How then could he venture to use such an expression? I am fully persuaded that if General Foy had been well acquainted with the state of things, he would have coincided in opinion with me. No doubt it must have been displeasing to a French marshal to pay deference to what my position compelled me to require; but the offended self-love of those gentlemen was a very secondary consideration during the impending crisis. I was well aware of this feeling, nor could it escape my penetration; but if any one of them, however high his rank, had attempted to avoid paying me that deference which my position claimed from them, I should have exerted all my authority to make him repent of such conduct, and the Emperor would have sanctioned my acts, as he had done on a former occasion in 1807. General Foy is certainly wrong. A very few days after the King's arrival, he gave me to understand that my presence was as painful to himself as it was irksome to the marshals, my superiors in rank; but I was well aware

of the unbounded confidence which the troops reposed in me. Nevertheless, the King sent me his aide-de-camp, General Saligny, to call for the correspondence connected with military matters; adding, that I should no longer have to attend to them, as they came within the sphere of the King's authority.

I instantly reported to the Emperor this circumstance, but did not receive his answer: it was only at a later period that I learned from himself that he had freely spoken his mind to his brother on the subject, saying, that passions always obscured the judgment, and that he would soon discover that of all those who were in Spain, no one was so calculated rightly to comprehend his position and the state of his affairs as myself.

I was in fact summoned to the council that met after M. de Villoutray's arrival, and plainly saw that every one felt anxious to cover his responsibility by my vote on the occasion, the Emperor's regard for me being well known to all. I felt no hesitation at being the first to recommend our immediately evacuating Madrid, and taking the road to Burgos.

General Foy appeared to disapprove of that measure; but in respect to military matters, which I had been studying at as good a school as himself, and for as long a time,* I may be allowed to differ from him in opinion. Dupont had just lost a full third of the troops which were in a condition to take the field; Garrot had recently informed me of the arrival of the English in Portugal; Bessières had ample employment in Galicia; and although he had been joined by the reinforcement I sent to his assistance, it was not improbable, considering the progress of the insurrection, that he would soon be under the necessity of calling for farther assistance; and

* We were both captains in the army of the Rhine, and promoted together to the rank of chief of battalion on the occasion of the second passage of the Rhine in the face of the enemy, when I commanded the troops which first effected a landing on the right bank. Foy afterwards followed the fortunes of General Moreau, and I closely adhered to the Emperor's cause.

I should then indeed have thrown the army into inextricable difficulties, had I suffered Bessières to be defeated, at a moment particularly when I was ignorant of the fate of the corps in Portugal, which had been compelled to submit to the condition of being brought back to France by sea, a circumstance which it was impossible to foresee. I was fully aware of the position of the corps before Saragossa, and the embarrassment in which it would be placed by the necessity of sending away the besieging train, which was at least as numerous as what we had at Madrid, where we were compelled to double the number of artillery horses, in order not to leave any ammunition-waggons behind.

Could any military man advise me, under such circumstances, to abandon the line of operations occupied by the army, with its magazines, however few in number, its ovens, its hospitals, the subsistence route of its reinforcements, in order to take up a fresh position in Navarre? Such a movement would have been a clear indication of insanity; and had I adopted it, and Bessières met with any check, in consequence of my leaving him destitute of all assistance, no good could have resulted from a movement upon Saragossa; and the Spaniards, by marching to Bayonne, would have compelled us to abandon the line of the Ebro. Such were the grounds of the opinion I expressed in the council alluded to by General Foy; and the Emperor was far from disapproving of my conduct on the occasion. He adhered to the same line of operations on his entrance into Spain in the succeeding autumn.

I certainly do not claim the approbation of every one for the part I took in the management of Spanish affairs. I may, nevertheless, be allowed to point out to the attention of censurers, that the whole of the grand army and of the marshals, with the exception of Marshal Davout, have been successively employed in that country; and yet, what has been the result of their efforts?

In page 34 of the same volume, General Foy falls into a still greater error, in respect to the nature of the service upon which he alleges that the Emperor had employed me: he alludes no doubt to a system of police kept up in the army, an assertion to which I give a formal denial. During the whole time of my serving the Emperor, he never gave me a single commission regarding private individuals. He has often asked me my opinion concerning reports of that nature, which were addressed to him (from the army itself) by general officers, who resorted to those means for obtaining his confidence. They were his real police-agents amongst the officers of the army, and left others nothing to work upon.

I suppose it is not meant by the term police to designate the system of spying in the enemy's camp, from which I have often obtained information of the highest importance for our ulterior operations.

CHAPTER XXIX.

The army retreats from Madrid—The author returns to France—Particulars respecting his journey—He joins the Emperor at Toulouse—The two engineers—Circumstance which most deeply affected him in the capitulation of Baylen—Men of the revolution—St. Napoleon's day—Attentions shown by the courtiers.

THE troops retreated by short marches. On the first day they slept at Chamartin, two leagues from Madrid; on the second, two leagues farther on; and continued these easy marches in order to prevent confusion.

On the third day King Joseph slept at Buitrago. It was in this town that I communicated to him my opinion as to the probable consequences of the unfortunate occurrence in Andalusia, which compelled us to look to our own safety, at a

time when we should have been endeavouring to win over the public confidence, an object now quite out of the question, and when the insurrection would be organizing itself, rousing the nation to arms, and securing fresh allies to its cause. I observed to him, that, as he could no longer have occasion for me, since I had delivered up the command entrusted to me previous to his arrival, I deemed it of consequence that I should return to the Emperor, and render him an account of all that had taken place, in order that he might give the whole of his attention to the subject; otherwise, if the line of communication should be interrupted, the Emperor would be left completely in the dark. He approved of my suggestion; and I went off to France the same night.

On every step of my journey, I discovered how important it was that some decisive measure should be adopted. I met in every direction Spanish couriers, conveying the particulars of the capitulation of Baylen, which had its due effect upon the public mind. Owing to an act of treachery, I was very near falling a victim to that rising agitation.

A Spanish postmaster thought he recognised me; and in order to satisfy himself on the subject, he asked me if I had not alighted at his house six weeks before on my way to Madrid. I replied in the affirmative, and noticed that he immediately whispered a few words to the postilion employed as a guide to my valet, who always kept in advance of me. I had taken the precaution of providing myself with a gendarme, picked out from the rest for his tried courage, and made him ride close by the carriage-door.

All was in commotion when we reached the next post: the people were advancing to attack me when the gendarme, who had proceeded in all haste to saddle a horse in the stable, brought it to me, saying, "General, you have not a moment to lose; mount this horse and make your escape; I shall overtake you outside the village." As he was not a person

likely to be alarmed at a trifle, I took his advice, and left my carriage to the care of the officers who accompanied me.

Fortunately night was approaching. I rode without any accident to the following post, where a fresh regiment happened to arrive the same morning. Instead of alighting at the post-house, I proceeded to the quarters of the commander of the regiment, where I took care to pay the postilion what was due to him, but I had him afterwards led out of the town, the gates of which were closed upon him, so as to prevent his going to the post-house. I then took off my uniform, put on the dress of one of my servants, sent for post-horses in the name of the commander of the regiment, and as if they were intended for him; took my departure from his quarters, and thus baffled the treacherous snare laid for me. I acted wisely, for although it was night when I reached the following post, I again found a crowd of people waiting for my carriage. On perceiving the couriers, they approached, and asked me in Spanish, "Is the general still far off?" I pretended not to take the question amiss, and replied, in Italian, "he will be here in a quarter of an hour." I immediately overheard them congratulating each other on this news; but I did not wait to listen to their conversation. I entered the stable, and slipping a double napoleon into the postilion's hand, I was provided in a few moments with the best horse in the stable; and my faithful gendarme was no less favoured. I then made a low bow to the crowd, and smacking my whip, hurried off at full speed. My carriage arrived a quarter of an hour afterwards; but besides being told that I had left it, they discovered inside three officers and two servants, who were moreover accompanied by a few soldiers, whom they had taken the proper precaution of procuring from the regiment they had found at the last stage, where I had requested that they might be looked out for on their way through. I considered myself already out of the scrape, as my horse was now to take me to Vittoria; and I was rejoicing at having deceived

my enemies, when I saw a person riding back in all haste towards me, who proved to be my valet. He rode so furiously on that I had a difficulty in stopping him.

He informed me that at every stage his postilion spoke to the post-master in a language which he could not understand; but that he had just been attacked by a band of armed men, who were lying in wait on the road, and that his postilion had remained amongst them.

I was in a truly awkward position, and yet felt no inclination to return to the stage I had just left. I stopped to give a moment's rest to our horses, and that my gendarme and servant might prepare their arms: I likewise got mine in readiness. The postilion who accompanied me, and to whom I had given a double napoleon, had the appearance of being a very worthy fellow; we were four, and my servant assured me that the band consisted of at least twelve or fifteen armed men. This was out of all proportion; but we had no other resource left than to force our way through. I started therefore with this determination, and after a quarter of an hour's gentle gallop, I was the first to perceive the band. One man of the party was watching by the road side on the top of a small rising ground; and the remainder were lying in ambush behind him on the declivity of the hill. It was night; I ordered my attendants to hold their pistols ready, and as soon as I saw the scout of the band running off to give his comrades the alarm, I started off at full gallop, and arrived before him in the midst of these rascals, upon whom we instantly fired; they immediately took to their heels, without noticing that we were only four in number. Thus I reached Vittoria, where my carriage overtook me. I there got the start of the information given of my journey, and reached Bayonne without incurring any farther danger.

The Emperor had left Bayonne shortly after King Joseph's departure, and availed himself of the circumstance of his journey to the South, to visit the departments which were as

yet unknown to him ; he proceeded by way of Pau, Toulouse, and Montauban, and on that occasion created a new department, that of the Tarn and Garonne, of which Montauban is the chief town, thus owing its regeneration to his solicitude for its interests.

During his stay at Toulouse, he recollected the opposition raised against a plan of works contemplated to be carried into effect on a bridge of the canal of Languedoc, and actually executed, notwithstanding the resistance offered in the council of state; the success of which undertaking had redounded to the honor of the originator of the plan.

Those works had made it necessary to construct a canal bridge over a river.

The Emperor was desirous of personally inspecting the works and of rewarding the author of them on the very theatre of his glory. He sent orders to the prefect as well as to the chief engineer of high roads (who was generally considered to be the author of the plan and the superintendent of the work) to repair to the spot where the bridge was erected. The Emperor himself, who was never after his time, arrived before the prefect, and only found the chief engineer at the place: he was pleased at this circumstance, as it enabled him personally to convey to him the expression of his friendly sentiments. He opened the conversation with this engineer on topics connected with his profession, and closely questioned him upon every point of difficulty which he must have encountered in the execution of such splendid works. The engineer replied with evident embarrassment, and the more the Emperor told him to be quite at his ease, the greater was his agitation, which increased so far at last as to place him under the necessity of seeking some excuse to withdraw for a few moments.

The Emperor said, in the meanwhile, to those who accompanied him; "I am not correctly informed ; the bridge was not made by that man; such a work is far beyond his capa-

city." He was dilating upon the subject when the prefect (M. Trouvé, I believe) came up; the Emperor insisted upon hearing the truth from him, as he had come for that express purpose. The prefect acknowledged, in fact, that the chief engineer was neither the originator of the plan, nor the author of the works, both which belonged of right to a common engineer of the department.

The Emperor immediately sent for this engineer, and asked him every question upon which he was desirous of receiving information, adding occasionally, during the conversation, "I am quite pleased at having come in person to inspect these splendid works, otherwise I should never have known that you were the author of them, and you would have been deprived of the reward to which you are so justly entitled." He then desired that he should follow him to Toulouse, wrote immediately a severe letter of reproach to the minister of the interior, appointed this common engineer, the author of the works, to the situaton of chief engineer, and made him proceed to the capital.

The other engineer suffered no other disappointment than that of losing his hold of a reward which he already fancied within his grasp, and which his friends had no doubt prepared him to anticipate.

The Emperor returned by way of Rochefort, Nantes, Saumur, and Tours, where I overtook him. As he arrived there in the night time, I could only converse with him on the following morning. I was led to believe, from the representations made to me, that he would give me a cool reception; but had he even struck me, I was fully bent upon exhibiting the aspect of affairs in its true colours. I was no stranger to the Emperor's private feelings; he felt as keenly as any one else the effect of unfavourable news; but he had an utter aversion to falsehood; and it was not until all those who were about his person had acquired a wretched aptitude to servile adulation—it was not, I repeat, until then that his

most faithful adherents found it dangerous to persist in an austere observance of truth in their reports upon subjects which he had committed to their care. Those courtiers, those perfidious flatterers, had succeeded in raising so effectual a barrier between the Emperor and those who never disguised the truth from him, that he has been kept in utter ignorance of circumstances connected with the most painful difficulties in which he has occasionally been involved. It was nothing new for me to despise the opinion of courtiers, and to rely upon the Emperor's justice. There was, besides, no question now of matters of a personal nature; and at the risk of my being sacrificed, I was determined he should know the truth. I should add, that he possessed so much penetration, so correct a sense of justice, so strong an attachment to those in whom he really confided, that there was not only perfect safety, but every advantage to be expected from revealing to him the naked facts. Though he might, at times, be angry with those of his friends who spoke to him without disguise, he invariably returned to them with increased esteem and confidence. We accordingly conversed at great length, and I clearly saw how deeply he felt interested in the accounts I brought to him: he made me repeat my words at every moment, and was quite at a loss to understand what had occurred in Andalusia. He was displeased with me for sending so many troops to that province; but I replied, that my intention was certainly not to injure his cause. No other news, however bad, could affect him so much as the disasters in the south of Spain; for his eyes were open to the consequences that might result from them. What particularly increased his spleen against the general officers who had signed the capitulation, was the clause for searching the soldiers' knapsacks.

"I should have preferred being informed of their death," he said, "than that they had been disgraced without fighting; this is inconceivable; and I can only account to myself for

such consummate cowardice, by ascribing it to the fear of risking the safety of what had been plundered. Nothing worse, in short, could have happened to us: it now becomes a case of the highest importance. You had better proceed to Paris; and we shall talk these matters over at a future opportunity."

All the post-horses were taken up for his service: nevertheless, I managed so well that I reached Paris as soon as he did. He had already told Marshal Duroc to send for me, and again called for the most minute details of past occurrences. He inquired into every thing, and could not understand that a corps so numerous as that under the orders of General Dupont, which ought to have compelled the troops of Castaños to surrender, should have been captured by the latter, without having had any engagement of sufficient importance to subject him to the loss of a single gun. In the course of the inquiry which he instituted upon the subject, he learned the folly of the officer who had gone in quest of Castaños, at Andujar, to bring him up to Baylen, and who subsequently wrote to that general to send for the two battalions that were stationed at the Puerto of the Sierra Morena. The Emperor shrugged up his shoulders in sheer pity at such conduct, making a sign of the cross at the same time, which was a sure indication of the contempt he felt for any one: "Let us rather suppose," he said, "that this was an act of pure stupidity, otherwise, no punishment would be too severe for his deserts; but as I will not permit any cowards to be about my person, I have directed that he should be required to tender his resignation."

A calm consideration of the unfortunate influence which the capitulation of Baylen has had upon the insurrection in Spain, cannot but be productive of sincere regret; but nothing can check the feeling of indignation which is experienced at reflecting on the causes of that event. What shadow of sincerity can there be in the reproach of the Emperor's having

dealt too severe a punishment to the generals who, on the one hand, fixed the stigma of dishonour upon their own troops, and, on the other, risked the success of the greatest enterprise ever undertaken? The only fault of the Emperor was his not punishing them sooner, and with much greater rigour. The severity laid to his charge was a pure act of clemency; and each of them, without exception, would, a twelvemonth before, have sentenced to death any one of his brother-officers, who might have been brought before him under circumstances of a similar nature.

He issued a variety of orders on the subject to which I have been alluding; one of the difficulties, however, of the Emperor's situation was, that in adopting the work of the Revolution, he had likewise adopted the men which that Revolution had formed. None but the inferior ranks had been filled up by men of a more recent stamp; the others, who had gone together through the several revolutionary periods, had friends and enemies common to all: touch but one of them, and the whole body took the alarm; as it actually came to pass in this instance. They dared not openly resist the Emperor, but such powerful and well-directed efforts were exerted, that the example which he intended to make was used as a weapon against himself, inasmuch as that each of these pretended adherents claimed the credit of having disarmed an anger, which had been greatly exaggerated for the purpose of setting a higher value upon the service he was rendering. But when it was question of a man without any other protection than his personal courage, they were eager to press him down still lower than his case would have warranted; by which means they made a display of their zeal, and gained an additional credit for themselves, which they reserved for the purpose of assisting their friends on another emergency. Those courtiers never presumed to speak candidly their sentiments; their talent lay in an abject deportment, and in throwing doubts over the intentions of

those who, although less servile in their conduct, were nevertheless more devoted to the Emperor's service.

The Emperor only returned to St. Cloud on the 13th of August, two days before his festival, which occurred on the 15th; it was one of those solemn days in the year when all were seen flocking to the capital, either from their country houses, or from the provinces, and relating to those around them what distance they had performed in order to enjoy the satisfaction of presenting their homage *to our august Emperor*, who had had the extreme condescension to inquire after the healths of themselves and their families: "We return well-contented," they said, "since we have seen him in good health; may God preserve him for the happiness of all!" "Ah! Sir," said one of the most ardent in his apparent zeal, "I repeat it, every day, what would become of us without him? I hold such a place; my brother has this one; my son such another: we can never discharge the debt of gratitude we owe him."

This was always an annual song every 15th of August, the anniversary of the Emperor's birth-day; and every 2nd of December, that of his coronation.

The Emperor listened to every thing, though well aware to what extent he was to place reliance upon such professions; they meant no more than this: Be always fortunate, rich, and powerful, and you may rely upon the satisfaction we shall always feel in accepting your bounty. Occasionally, however, he has trusted to the sincerity of many, and has acknowledged, with feelings of evident regret, that he had found himself disappointed.

The 15th of August of this year was again passed in gaiety and amusements, because the affairs of Andalusia had not been made public; and no suspicion was entertained that our customary run of prosperity had received a check. It was only divulged some time afterwards; and it was truly curious to watch how the courtiers, whose trade is any thing

else but to fight, criticised those military men who had, on that occasion, clouded with cares that brow, before which the courtiers were all so ready to bend the knee, when they came to solicit a friendly smile, which their servility courted and treasured up, when bestowed upon them. The Emperor was not the dupe of this outward show; he allowed every one the free range of his trade, without neglecting for a moment those affairs of high importance which called for his attention. When he had well considered all the injurious consequences which he had to apprehend from the occurrence at Baylen, he adopted a resolution worthy of his comprehensive mind.

CHAPTER XXX.

The Emperor's embarrassment—State of the question—The Emperor demands an interview with Alexander, which is arranged to take place at Erfurt—Napoleon goes to meet Alexander—Protestations of the Emperor of Austria—Fêtes, dramatic entertainments, &c.

THE army was still in Prussia, where it was to remain and be maintained until the contributions imposed on that country should be entirely paid. The Emperor would willingly have allowed it to remain there longer; first, because it was a convenient way of maintaining the troops, and secondly, because the situation in which he stood was a trial of the sincerity of the sentiments which the Emperor Alexander seemed to have sworn to him. His alliance with Russia might be founded only on necessity, and thence the presence of the army in Germany was its guarantee; but if the alliance was founded on a frank return to peace, and a renunciation of every kind of enterprise, similar to those which had brought us into Germany in 1805 and 1806, he might, without inconvenience, transport this army into Spain. Such a measure could have

created only feelings of security in Germany. The question for the Emperor, therefore, stood thus:—"If I can leave my army in Germany, I shall not have war; but as I am obliged to withdraw it almost entirely, shall I, for that reason, have war? Now, said he, is the moment to try the stability of my work at Tilsit."

He did me the honour to communicate to me his embarrassment; and I persisted in the opinion, that the other powers sought only a favourable opportunity of again attempting his destruction. I added, that if Russia did not take part in this attempt, it would be impracticable; but that, on the other hand, if that power should not agree with us respecting the Spanish enterprise, I had no doubt that that circumstance would be seized upon, as a motive for coming to a rupture. The Emperor seemed to feel no uneasiness on this point. He told me, however, that the affairs of Spain had engaged him farther than he at first expected, but that that would be easily explained. This last observation still farther confirmed me in my opinion, that the Emperor of Russia had been acquainted with the first project, and that it was only necessary to explain the difference between the first and second. At the same time, I guessed the motive which had made us abandon the Turks.

The Emperor said to me: "On withdrawing the army from Prussia, I shall rapidly bring the affairs of Spain to a conclusion; but who will be my guarantee for Germany? We shall see."

He had just received a courier from St. Petersburg. Some clouds had already gathered; but without telling me in what the difficulty consisted, he complained of the manner in which his affairs were conducted in Russia. "Caulaincourt," said he, "has raised up difficulties there instead of clearing them away. I know not why he has engaged an explanation on the subject of Poland, and allowed himself to make a proposition, by which I should engage not to re-establish Poland.

This idea carries its own absurdity along with it. How could I undertake to re-establish Poland, when I have a war in Spain, for which I am obliged to withdraw my army from Germany? This is too ridiculous. And if I cannot think of Poland, why make any question about it? I am not Fate: I cannot foresee what is to happen. Is this question started because I am embarrassed? That, on the contrary, would be a reason for deferring it. There is something here which I cannot explain. An interview is talked of in which I may be able to settle my affairs; and rather than run the risk of seeing them ruined, I would accede to the proposition. It would, at least, have the advantage of creating an imposing spectacle, and affording me time to bring the Spanish business to a conclusion."

Such was the Emperor's state of mind about the end of August, 1808; it was very different from what it had been at the same period in the preceding year.

I believe it was at this time that he directed his ambassador in Russia to fix with the Emperor Alexander the interview at Erfurt. It had been agreed upon at the peace of Tilsit; but neither the time nor place was determined.

The whole of the month of September was spent in settling the day for the departure of the respective sovereigns from St. Petersburg and Paris, so that each might regulate his journey, so as to arrive neither too soon nor too late.

The Emperor Napoleon appointed the guards, provided the quarters, and defrayed the expenses of the tables, &c. not only for the Emperor of Russia, but also for the other sovereigns who attended the interview. Accordingly, a troop of cooks, stewards, and lackeys, were sent from the department of the grand-marshal.

The company of the Theatre Française also proceeded to Erfurt, for the purpose of performing our best tragedies and comedies. Finally, nothing, however trifling, was neglected

that could contribute to the amusement of the sovereigns during their stay at Erfurt.

The Emperor left Paris at the end of September or beginning of October.* He went straight to Metz, and on his way he inspected all the corps which were returning from the grand army to proceed to Spain. He stopped them on the road, and after examining them man by man, ordered them to continue their march. In this manner he proceeded to Frankfort.

The force which he had ordered to Spain was very considerable; for of all the vast army which was in Germany, he left behind only four divisions of infantry, with the cuirassiers, and a few regiments of light troops, that is to say, one-fourth of what there had previously been.

The news of the interview at Erfurt excited great interest in Germany, and people thronged into the town from all parts. At the residence of the Prince Primate at Frankfort, a vast number of German princes had assembled to pay their respects to the Emperor as he passed through the city. He slept at the residence of the Prince Primate; and among the company present were the Princes and Princesses of Baden, Darmstadt, and Nassau. They treated the Emperor with all the honour due to the protector of the confederation of the Rhine; and they seemed to vie with each other in showing testimonials of their respect and submission.

The Emperor left Frankfort next day, and proceeded straight to Erfurt. On his way he met the King of Westphalia, who had come from Cassel to the frontiers of his states to receive him. M. de Caulaincourt, the French ambassador in Russia, also came to meet the Emperor, and he joined us

* Before his departure he sent the Grand-duke of Berg to Naples; and on his return from Erfurt, he sent off the Grand-duchess, who did not go till some weeks after her husband.

between Erfurt and Gotha. He informed us that the Emperor of Russia was waiting at Weimar for the arrival of the Emperor Napoleon at Erfurt. We accordingly proceeded onward speedily, and arrived at Erfurt very early in the morning. Some troops had been brought into the town, and the first regiment of hussars was stationed in several detachments between Erfurt and Weimar, to render military honours to the Emperor Alexander.

In conformity with arrangements which had no doubt been made beforehand, the Emperor mounted on horseback, together with all who accompanied him. His retinue was followed by a horse for the Emperor of Russia; and the saddle which he was in the habit of using was even sent for from Weimar. It had been brought from St. Petersburg expressly for this occasion.

The Emperor had advanced about three leagues from Erfurt when we descried the retinue of the Emperor Alexander, whose carriage was followed by twelve or fifteen calashes. The Emperor Napoleon set off at full gallop, and alighted to embrace the Emperor of Russia when he got out of his carriage. The meeting was as amicable and cordial as the sentiments which the sovereigns mutually cherished towards each other. They both mounted their horses, and proceeded conversing together to Erfurt. The road was lined with the whole population of the surrounding country. The weather was delicious, and seemed to smile auspiciously on the event. The sovereigns were saluted by the artillery from the ramparts; the troops formed a double line, and all the persons of distinction who had come to Erfurt on this occasion, were assembled at the residence which had been prepared for the Emperor Alexander, at the moment when he alighted from his horse accompanied by the Emperor Napoleon.

The two sovereigns dined together that day, in company with the Grand-duke Constantine, who was with his brother. The grand-marshal had stationed a man in the street to

watch and give information when the Emperor of Russia's carriage appeared in sight; and whenever Alexander visited the Emperor Napoleon, the latter always stood at the foot of the staircase to receive his guest. The same ceremony was observed when the Emperor Napoleon visited the Emperor of Russia. While they remained at Erfurt they always dined together, except on those days when they had private business to transact at their respective residences. Soon after the arrival of the two Emperors at Erfurt, they were followed by the Kings of Saxony, Bavaria, Wirtemburg, and Westphalia, the Prince Primate, the Princes of Anhalt, Coburg, Saxe-Weimar, Darmstadt, Baden, Nassau, and all who conceived it to be their duty to render homage to such an assemblage of power.

The King of Prussia did not come. He was represented by his brother, Prince William, who during a whole winter in Paris had endured the most painful situation in which a prince of his rank can possibly be placed, and whose conduct, under these trying circumstances, excited public interest and respect. He represented Prussia during the winter which followed the treaty of Tilsit.

The Emperor of Austria was not present at the interview. The measures which he had taken, the levies and requisitions of every kind which he imposed on his states, had excited the remonstrances of France. His preparations were not finished. Protestations cost him little, and he resolved to make another attempt to deceive Napoleon. He sent General Vincent, who he knew was agreeable to the Emperor, to deliver to him a letter in which he sought to remove the doubts which had arisen respecting the constancy of his sentiments.*

The hereditary Princes of Mecklenburg, Schwerin and Strelitz were also at Erfurt.

The Emperor Napoleon had brought with him M. de Cham-

* "SIR, MY BROTHER,

"My ambassador in Paris informs me that your Imperial Majesty is going to

pagny, the minister for foreign affairs. He had, besides, M. de Talleyrand, and, as usual, M. Maret, and the Prince de Neufchatel.

General Oudinot had been sent as governor to Erfurt, and Marshal Soult, whose corps was proceeding to Spain, remained at Erfurth all the time the Emperor stayed there. His troops marched on before him, and he rejoined them at Bayonne.

Several German princesses were also at Erfurt. Among them were the Princess of Baden, together with some from the different surrounding countries, the Princess of Tour and Taxis, and the Princess of Wirtemburg, born Coburg, &c. The mornings were invariably spent in visiting. Large dinner-parties were formed, and dramatic representations were given in the evening. As the Emperor of Russia was known to be rather deaf, the company were arranged so that all the sovereigns sat near the orchestra. I recollect that, during the performance of Œdipus, when the following passage occurred—"The friendship of a great man is a blessing of Heaven," Alexander turned towards the Emperor Napoleon

Erfurt, where you will meet the Emperor Alexander. I eagerly embrace the occasion of your approach to my frontier to renew the testimonials of friendship and esteem which I have sworn to you, and I send my lieutenant-general, Baron de Vincent, to convey to you the assurance of these unalterable sentiments. I flatter myself that your Majesty has always been convinced of my sincerity, and that if the mistatements which had been circulated respecting the internal organic institutions which I have established in my monarchy have, for a moment, inspired doubts respecting the stability of my intentions, the explanations which Count Metternich has given on this subject to your minister will have entirely dispelled them. Baron de Vincent will confirm these facts and add any explanations which your Majesty may desire. I beg that you will show him the same kindness with which you received him in Paris and Warsaw. Any new marks of favour which you may bestow on him will be to me an unequivocal pledge of your Majesty's perfect reciprocity of sentiment, and will seal the confidence which will render our mutual satisfaction complete.

"Be pleased to accept the assurance of the unalterable attachment and consideration with which I am, Sir, my Brother,

"Your Imperial and Royal Majesty's Brother and Friend,

"Presburg, Sept. 18th, 1808. "FRANCIS."

with the intention of applying the line to him. A murmur of approbation, which ran through the company, showed that the force and justice of the application was felt. In this agreeable manner time slipped away almost imperceptibly at Erfurt.

This year presented altogether a singular spectacle. In the month of January, the Emperor Napoleon was at Venice, surrounded by the homage of all the courts and princes of Italy. In April, he was at Bayonne, surrounded by the royal family and the most distinguished personages of Spain; and finally, in October, he was at Erfurt, in communication with the individuals above mentioned.

The eye-witness of these events is unable to explain how it happened that such amicable meetings were not followed by a lasting peace; and with all possible respect for governments, it is impossible to refrain from attributing to them on this occasion a want of frankness and probity in the political transactions which they have signed for more than twenty years past, in the name of the interests of their subjects. There must have been great duplicity, bad faith, want of courage, or voluntary ignorance, at least, in the cabinets, or, after so many interviews, and so many thousand opportunities for explanation, mankind would not have been visited by new calamities, for the sake of gratifying the self-love of some and the avidity of others. These are melancholy reflections; and it can no longer be said, that if justice and probity were banished from among men, they would find refuge in the hearts of kings.

Had England sent a minister to the meeting of Erfurt the disputes of the world might have been brought to an arrangement; but the want of the concurrence of that power laid the ground-work of those terrible disasters which subsequently ensued. The two Emperors of France and Russia had respectively affairs to settle, of the importance of which it would be difficult to judge with sufficient accuracy to determine which of the two must have been most eager to accede to the interview at Erfurt.

Russia was still engaged in the campaign which she had opened against the Swedes, whom she wished to deprive of Finland, for the purpose of uniting it to her own dominions. It was even on his arrival at Erfurt that Alexander refused to ratify the armistice convened between his army in Finland and the Swedes. Russia had, moreover, her war in Turkey, which she wished to carry on vigorously; but in so doing, she was going beyond what had been agreed on at Tilsit on this subject.

The Emperor of Russia again proposed the division of the Turkish empire; but the Emperor Napoleon evaded the question. After the conferences at Tilsit, he desired to have the personal opinion of General Sebastiani, his ambassador at Constantinople, respecting this proposition of the Emperor of Russia. General Sebastiani was entirely averse to the project; and in a long report which he submitted to the Emperor on his return from Constantinople, he demonstrated the necessity of France never consenting to the dismemberment of the Turkish empire. The Emperor Napoleon had adopted that opinion.

Russia had yet, I believe, to demand some little explanations respecting the future plans of which Poland might be the object. These questions were entirely in the interest of the Russians; next came others which were in the interest of their allies the Prussians. By the stipulations of the treaty of Tilsit, of which the Emperor Alexander was the guarantee, Prussia had to pay considerable sums to France, and the French army was to remain in Prussia until the entire payment of these contributions. The King of Prussia, for the sake of obtaining peace, had submitted to any proposition; but, after some time, he remonstrated strongly against the payment of these exorbitant sums, and took advantage of the moment when the Emperor was engaged in a new enterprise to endeavour to rid himself, as far as possible, of the contributions.

The Emperor of Russia interested himself the more readily

in this affair, because the evacuation of Prussia was a stipulation of the treaty of Tilsit, the execution of which had been deferred in proportion to the delay in the payment of the contributions; so that the King of Prussia was still at Konigsberg, and we were in possession of nearly all his states, though peace had been concluded above a year.

The Emperor Napoleon had on his part great interest in bringing Russia to concur in the changes which he had effected in Europe since the peace of Tilsit. He had made an arrangement with the Spanish government respecting Tuscany, which was held by the son of the Infante of Parma, King of Etruria; and he had acquired claims to the succession of Charles IV., who disinherited his children. It was therefore necessary that he should come to an arrangement with the Emperor of Russia, lest that sovereign should offer any obstacle to a project which had already been adverted to between them, but which had terminated differently from what was expected. In consequence of this same project the Grand-duke of Berg had ascended the throne of Naples, in lieu of King Joseph, who was called to the throne of Spain. These three questions, which we had to arrange with the Russians, were at least as important as those which the Russians could have to settle with us.

Such were the real objects of the interview at Erfurt, on which the tranquillity of Europe depended. The two most powerful sovereigns in the world met on this occasion to settle their affairs, by which those of all other powers were to be determined. Though it is impossible to give a detailed report of all that passed between them, yet it may be supposed, that as each of them travelled three or four hundred leagues for the purpose of making their arrangements, they reciprocally discussed every subject that could interest them, and every enterprise in which they might wish to embark. Now it was absolutely necessary that they should mutually guarantee the continuance of peace, without which it would be impossible to carry their ulterior projects into execution.

It cannot be supposed that the interview of Erfurt passed over without the consideration of every point which might appear doubtful in the policy of the two powers, as well as in the sentiments of the two sovereigns.

It is, then, easy to guess what passed at Erfurt between the two sovereigns from what they mutually undertook after that conference; and we may also judge which of them failed in his engagements by the event which ensued, and which would not otherwise have occurred; namely, the war with Austria. Long arguments are not necessary to prove that, had there existed the least shade of difference between the two sovereigns, the consequence would have been that the Russians would have suspended their Finland expedition and their war against the Turks, and would have prepared to meet the French army once more on the Niemen; in which case we should not have evacuated Prussia. On the part of France, the first consequence would have been to abandon her enterprise on Spain, and to restore things as far as possible to the footing on which they were before any kind of derogation from the treaty of Tilsit, by resuming the advantageous position we maintained previous to that period.

But so far from any thing like difference, such was the harmony between the two sovereigns, that they reciprocally acceded to each other's demands; and a wish being manifested on the part of France that the ambassador of Russia at Vienna should be substituted for the minister of that power at Paris, the Emperor Alexander readily assented to that arrangement. Accordingly, Prince Alexander Kurakin, who was the Russian ambassador at Vienna, received orders to proceed in the same character to Paris. The reason of the change was this. Count Tolstoy, the Prince's predecessor, being more of a soldier than a diplomatist, frequently engaged in discussions in Paris with other generals who were as little skilled in diplomacy as he, but, like him, also, good soldiers. The discussions were attended with some inconveniences; for the generals with whom the Count conversed

repeated what was told them by the Russian ambassador, and attributed to his words all the authority of an oracle.

Not a single day during the conference at Erfurt was clouded by ill-humour. The sovereigns were all attention to each other; and there was on every hand an appearance of perfect concord, which formed the subject of general congratulation.

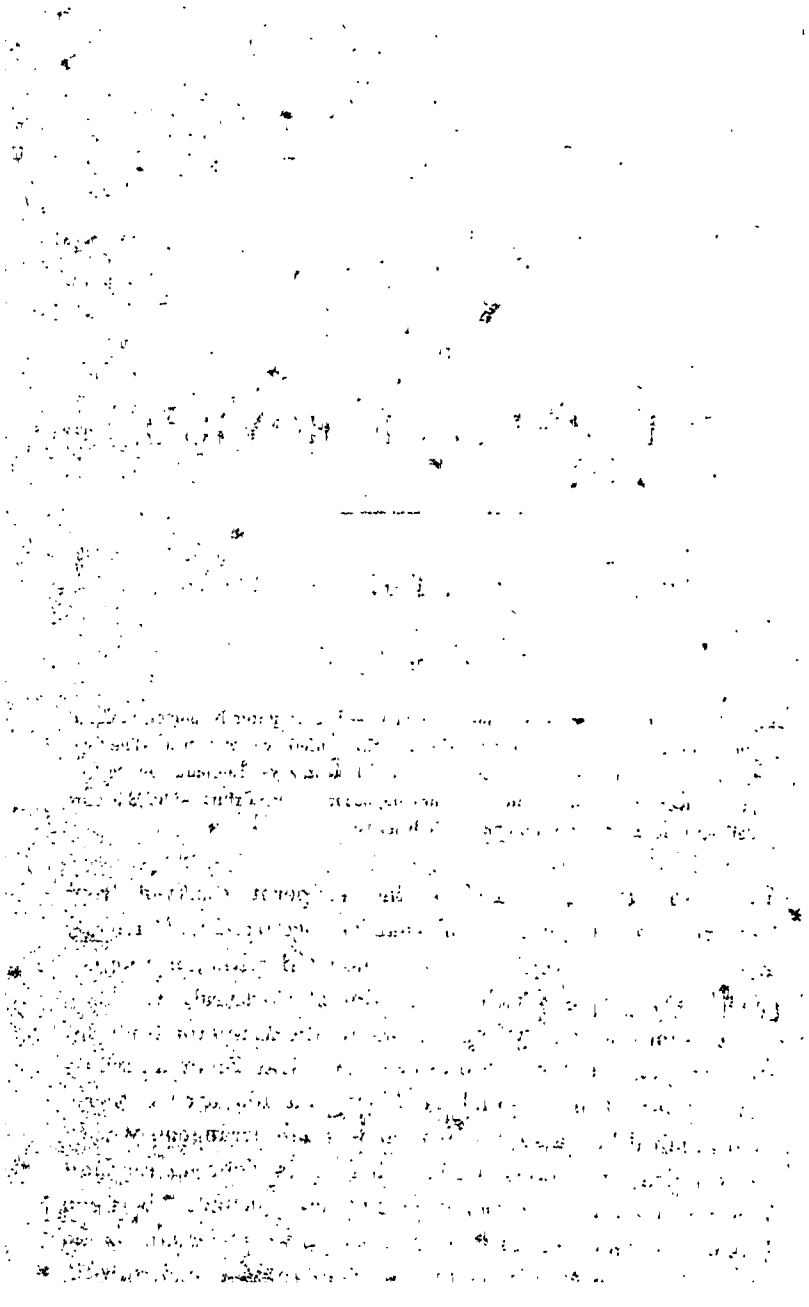
The Duke of Saxe-Weimar, whose son was married to a sister of the Emperor of Russia, and in whose territories the interview of Erfurt took place, gave a magnificent fête on the occasion. It commenced with a breakfast beneath a tent precisely similar to that which the Emperor had used on the eve of the battle of Jena: it was spread on the same spot, and bivouac-fires were kindled in the same places. The Duke of Weimar must have made very minute inquiries into all these particulars before he could have imitated them so perfectly. After breakfast the company mounted on horseback, and, conducted by the Duke, they followed the direction which was taken by the heads of our columns when they advanced to attack the Prussian line. After following all the movements of our army, the party arrived on the field where the battle was decided. Here a line of soldiers' huts was formed at certain intervals, where game-keepers with guns were in waiting for those who wished to enjoy the amusement of shooting.

As soon as the sovereigns had each taken their places, game-snarers, who were in concealment, began to drive a vast quantity of game over to the huts, where it was shot by the company. Here was a battle of Jena against the partridges. The shooting of birds was succeeded by a stag-hunt; after which the party dined with the reigning Duke of Weimar.

The grand-marshal, Duroc, had sent to the Duke's residence the company of French actors who were at Erfurt; so that the amusements of the evening were complete. The fête terminated with a ball, which was kept up the whole of the night.

END OF PART I.

PART II.



MEMOIRS

OF

THE DUKE OF ROVIGO.

PART II.

CHAPTER I.

Intelligence from Portugal—Mutual concessions—The Emperor Napoleon offers to the author the embassy to Russia—Close of the conferences at Erfurt—The two sovereigns take leave of each other—Count Romanzow—England rejects the pacific overtures made to her by common accord from Erfurt—The Emperor relies upon his treaty of alliance with Russia.

WHILST staying at Erfurt, the Emperor received from General Junot an account of what had occurred in Portugal, together with the treaty he had concluded with the English general Dalrymple, for the evacuation of Portugal.

The same courier brought news to the Emperor from the Russian fleet, under the orders of Admiral Siniavin, which General Junot had found at Lisbon on his arrival there. That admiral had also recently come to an arrangement with the English, and consented to leave his fleet in England as a hostage, until a peace should be concluded between Russia and that power. These details were communicated by the Emperor Napoleon to the Emperor Alexander, with-

out the slightest remark: the latter, however, expressed his disapprobation of the conduct of his admiral; but it was too late to repair the evil.

The conferences at Erfurt were drawing to a close, without having been interrupted by the least misunderstanding. I recollect our minister for foreign affairs telling me one day, in conversation, that the Emperor would only obtain what had been anteriorly agreed upon, as Russia was obstinately bent upon adhering to those bases: he said no more. I endeavoured, by turning this observation over in my mind, to ascertain its precise meaning; and I think it could only relate to certain proposals of fresh arrangements, of which Prussia, and Silesia in particular, were the object: I am the more confirmed in this opinion, from our having immediately afterwards evacuated that province, which measure was still wanting to give full effect to the treaty of Tilsit. The Emperor relaxed a little on the subject of contributions; and the Emperor of Russia expressed, in my presence, his entire satisfaction on this point. He had obtained every thing he wished for, and had also concurred in whatever concerned the interests of the Emperor Napoleon.

The Emperor of Russia sent a minister to reside at the court of the King of Naples; and ordered the one who had been in attendance near King Charles IV. of Spain, to resume his functions near King Joseph. Every thing had, therefore, been conceded to the Emperor Napoleon's wishes: it only remained for him to place his brother upon the throne; and he was about to exert all the means in his power towards effecting this object. He quitted Germany, upon the faith of the treaties he had signed; and thought he could rely upon the maintenance of peace, since his presence, or rather the presence of his troops, could no longer be complained of as a ground of perpetual uneasiness, orders having been given for withdrawing those troops and marching them into Spain.

When every thing had been concluded at Erfurt, and the

sovereigns were about to separate, they determined first to make a joint effort for renewing, if possible, a negotiation with England. It was agreed that Count Romanzow, the Russian minister for foreign affairs, should repair to Paris with full powers to follow up, on the part of Russia, any measures consequent upon the answer which was expected from the British government.

On the eve of the Emperor Alexander's departure from Erfurt, the Emperor sent for me at night: he was in bed, and wished to enter into conversation with me, as was his occasional practice at that hour. He first adverted to every other subject but the one he intended to dwell upon, and then asked me if I would willingly return to Russia. "No, Sire," I replied, "for two reasons: the climate is dreadful; and if I were to return upon the same footing of favouritism, on which I have already resided there during six months, I should fail to serve your interests, which require that the gravity of the ministerial character should at all times be upheld: were I to act otherwise, I could only be the courtier of the Emperor Alexander, instead of being the ambassador of France."

The Emperor clearly saw, by my answer, that I knew his motives for proposing to send me back to Russia: he still urged his point, but I resisted; and, notwithstanding a gentle reprimand, I stood my ground. "I perceive," he said, "that you are rather hurt at not having been the first ambassador appointed after the peace of Tilsit."—"Rather so, your Majesty," I good-humouredly replied, "although I actually exerted my endeavours to be recalled from St. Petersburg. I felt anxious to know upon what footing I was to consider myself; and the appointment of M. de Caulaincourt was the only reply I received. It would no longer be proper for me to succeed him, because I should run the risk of injuring your interests in attempting to follow any other line of conduct than that which he appears to have adopted."

"Do you then refuse to go?" said the Emperor, in reply to me.

"Sire," I answered, "nothing can be farther from my wish than to be sent there: should, however, your Majesty command it, I am ready to obey; but I really think that the change would be injurious to your interests."

"I had been assured," rejoined the Emperor, "that you regretted Russia, and would return there with pleasure."

I had nothing more to add, than that whatever could be most flattering to vanity or ambition had cheered my residence in Russia; that I relied much upon the favourable impression which I had left behind; but that unless he ordered it otherwise, I should prefer continuing my career in the army.

"If so," said the Emperor, "we will drop the subject."

I secretly blamed myself for not accepting the embassy, feeling assured that I could avert serious misfortunes, without any compromise of the dignity of either sovereign. Nothing more was required for upholding the good harmony between France and Russia: a pliancy of disposition should have been displayed by the ministry and by the ambassador, whose personal feelings ought to have merged in the object of keeping up a proper understanding between the two countries: this was to be done by nourishing the friendly intercourse of the two sovereigns, which had yet all the warmth of novelty. The sequel of these Memoirs will unfold what actually came to pass.

The moment of taking leave had now arrived: on each side the separation was most amicable. The Emperor Alexander came to bid the Emperor farewell: they had a long conversation together, and parted for a moment to mount their horses. They left the town together; and proceeded at a slow pace to a distance of two leagues, where the carriages of the Emperor Alexander were in waiting. The subject of their conversation has remained a secret; but they were no doubt very

deeply engaged in it, since they never hurried their horses' pace; and their respective retinues purposely kept at a considerable distance behind. They at last came up with the carriages, dismounted, walked together for a few moments, and took a farewell embrace of each other. I hastened up to the carriage, and recommended myself to the favour of the Emperor Alexander, who embraced me, saying, "When I have once bestowed my esteem, I never alter." In the days of adversity I relied upon this assurance, and had cause to repent it.

Such was the termination of the interview at Erfurt, which will be celebrated in the pages of history. It was calculated to secure the repose and happiness of the world; and yet was only productive of misfortunes.

The Emperor returned to Erfurt at a slow pace, without uttering a word, and appearing lost in meditation. He had already given an audience of leave to all the sovereigns and foreign princes who were at Erfurt; and he took his departure the next morning for Paris, without making any stay on the road. Towards the end of October we re-entered the French capital.

Count Romanzow, who followed us, reached Paris a few days after our arrival. He first alighted at a furnished hotel; but was soon invited by the Emperor to take up his residence at the hotel of the Viceroy of Italy, where he sent servants and whatever was requisite for the representative of a great nation. Count Romanzow gave several dinners in that hotel; and I had a conversation with him at one of them which greatly increased my regret that, for the Emperor's sake, I had not accepted the embassy to Russia in lieu of M. de Caulaincourt, who was soliciting his recall.

Count Romanzow addressed so many obliging expressions to me that, however little I may have been entitled to them, I could not feel otherwise than exceedingly flattered at the kind opinion which the Emperor of Russia was pleased to entertain of me. In that conversation, he informed me of the approach-

ing marriage of her Serene Highness the Grand-duchess Catherine with a prince of Oldenburg. I was very far from supposing that when he secretly confided to me this news he could have any other object in view than my own gratification at hearing of so auspicious an event for a princess whom I greatly admired, and who always appeared to me calculated to grace one of the first thrones in the world; although I said no more than that I took a lively interest in the happiness which her Majesty the Empress-mother would derive from a union she had been mainly instrumental in bringing about, I confess I was at a loss to understand why our ambassador did not throw obstacles in the way of that project, even without waiting for positive instructions to do so. What inconvenience could Europe have suffered by a prince of Oldenburg remaining single for another year, more or less; whilst the bestowing the hand of the Grand-duchess Catherine might have been a bond of eternal peace between two countries whose mutual harmony and reciprocal interests could never be too closely united? This object should have been the incessant aim of those within whose functions such arrangements necessarily fell.

I must, however, do M. de Caulaincourt the justice to say that the idea had occurred to him. I have read what he wrote on the subject to a third person, in the hope that it would be communicated to the Emperor; but the surest way of defeating any plan he had in view was to mention it to another. The first inference which it was natural to draw from this was, that such a communication on his part was only the result of an overture made to him, and respecting which he would have consented not to give a decisive explanation until after he should receive a reply to the letter I have just mentioned. I knew that the Emperor, who neither liked to be anticipated nor forestalled, nor yet to appear influenced by any one, was greatly displeased at that letter; and M. de Caulaincourt was doubtless not aware of the scene

that had taken place with M. Fouché the preceding winter; although it was natural for the Emperor to suppose him acquainted with it; and M. de Caulaincourt's letter to this third person remained, therefore, unanswered. I leave it, however, to the judgment of any rational being to consider where the Emperor's inclination would have leaned, whether on the side of a beautiful and amiable princess, possessing the advantage of an education seldom to be found even amongst the most celebrated female sovereigns, whose union would tend to cement an alliance of great advantage to her brother, for whom the Emperor Napoleon entertained a friendship which it was easy to keep up; or on the side of a princess who was then unknown in France, whose very family connexions were calculated to alarm all those who had had any share in the revolution; whose father, in short, had been four times in arms against us, often under circumstances which motives of policy alone could justify? True it is, that when the latter princess arrived amongst us, and her many personal accomplishments became known, the public agitation was allayed, and the loss of the former princess amply compensated; but this view of the question was wholly unconnected with what we might have accomplished in Russia by secretly opposing the marriage of the Grand-duchess Catherine; and since another union for the Grand-duchess had already occurred to the ambassador, he ought to have managed so that she should have been still disengaged, when in France the choice of a princess became the subject of serious consideration.

Count Romanzow remained in Paris until the arrival of the answer from London, which was nothing but a plain refusal. This was naturally to have been anticipated, since it was unreasonable to suppose that England would enter into any arrangement with France after the enterprise of the latter against Spain, when it had already refused the mediation of Russia after the treaty of Tilsit; and it must be acknowledged that, on both those occasions, Russia acted with

perfect candour, and was desirous of bringing about a general peace, quite as much, I am disposed to believe, through an impulse of philanthropic benevolence, as in order that France should disarm, and that she herself might return to her former commercial relations, the loss of which was of the most serious consequence to a country unable to flourish without them.

I am also of opinion that if negotiations had been opened with England, the Emperor Napoleon would have relaxed in many of his views, especially with respect to Germany; but no one can tell to what fatality we are to ascribe the fact, that whatever has been done and written, in order to bring about a treaty, has at all times borne a character of defiance, or a tone of asperity, which, instead of allaying misunderstandings, and removing obstacles, has constantly widened and increased them. Count Romanzow's mission being thus at an end, he took his departure for St. Petersburg.

About the time of which I am speaking the Emperor opened the session of the Legislative Body; and in the speech which it is customary to deliver on that occasion, he made use of the following terms:—"The Emperor of Russia, my illustrious ally, and I, are united in peace and in war. I will now return to my army with perfect confidence: we stand in mutual need of each other," &c. Had there not been reciprocal engagements and secret understandings at Erfurt respecting future projects, he would not have spoken so openly to the nation a fortnight after leaving the Emperor of Russia. He must therefore have relied upon the uninterrupted maintenance of the peace of Germany.

CHAPTER II.

The Emperor's arrival at Bayonne—His entrance into Spain—Action of Somosierra—Madrid is summoned to open her gates—Embarrassment of the Spanish grandees—Assault—Entrance into Madrid—Correspondence between the Queen of Naples and Ferdinand VII.—Intelligence of the English army—Painful and dangerous march along the Guadarrama—The Emperor advances on foot at the head of the column—Pursuit of the English army—Rashness of General Lefevre-Desnouettes—Arrival of a courier from France—The Emperor confides the command of the army to Marshal Soult.

THE Emperor proceeded on the road to Spain with the whole of his army. He reached Bayonne, and afterwards Vittoria, with the rapidity of an arrow. He performed the latter journey on horseback in two days, reaching Tolosa on the first, and on the second Vittoria, where he rejoined King Joseph, who had retreated to this town with the remains of the first army that had entered Spain.

He accelerated as much as possible the arrival of all the troops, and commenced simultaneous operations upon St. Andero and the provinces of Navarre and Arragon. Such was our superiority of force, that our expeditions were nothing more than marches, except beyond Burgos, where we encountered some resistance, and at Tudela in Navarre, where Marshal Lannes had to fight a battle: every other occurrence is undeserving of notice.

The Emperor repaired to Burgos, at which place he was overtaken by the troops; from thence he ordered the siege of Sarragossa to be renewed, and his infantry to advance by the road of Aranda-del-Duero, whilst the cavalry proceeded along the plain by the road of Valladolid.

He followed, with the whole of his guard, the road taken by the infantry, and performed the journey on horseback. On the very day of his departure from Burgos he reached

Aranda, and on the next arrived at the opening of the gorge of Somosierra, at a place called Boceguillas, where he pitched his tent in the midst of his troops.

He was overtaken at a very early hour the next morning by the corps of Marshal Victor, who was at first sent to support Marshal Lannes, but had been recalled previously to his leaving Aranda, news having just arrived there of Marshal Lannes' brilliant and successful engagement at Tudela. The Emperor immediately ordered the corps of Marshal Victor to penetrate through the valley. We were now at the close of November, 1808; and as the valley is lined with very high mountains, the summits of which are lost in the clouds, the Spaniards stationed there only discovered us when we were already close upon them, otherwise they might have done us very serious injury.

At the puerto of the Somosierra they had a battery of fifteen pieces of cannon, which, had they discovered our troops from a distance, would have made us pay dearly for the desperate manner in which we attacked and carried them. The Emperor himself was on the spot: he formed the Polish lancers into a column on the high road, and made them ascend in this order at a slow pace until the battery began to fire, when, starting off at full gallop, they carried it ere it could fire a second time upon them.

This daring attack was directed by General Montbrun, and exclusively effected by the Polish cavalry, which, after forcing their way, continued on a gallop until they reached Buitrago, where the Emperor came to sleep that very night.

He advanced the next morning to Saint-Augustine, the second stage from Madrid upon that road, and waited there for the rest of the army which had been unable to keep up with him, and for King Joseph, his brother, who joined him on the 1st of December.

The Emperor expected that, as he was so near Madrid, the governing junta of that city would send to make proposals to

him: it had not, however, been taken into account that we were arriving as quick as the news of our approach, and that this junta could not be so soon informed of the unfortunate state of affairs: it knew nothing of the battle of Tudela, and was still under an impression that the Emperor was yet at a great distance, when, early in the morning of the 2nd December, he caused Madrid to be invested, and had his tent pitched within reach of the guns planted upon its ramparts.

The general in command of the first troops which approached the city summoned it, according to the usage of war, to open its gates. A parley took place on the left, whilst the quarter of the body-guards and one of the gates to the right of the city were already being attacked.

The Emperor's march had been so rapid that he had not allowed time for flight to any one of the grandees of the Spanish court, who, after having taken the oath of fidelity to King Joseph, had abandoned him and followed the party of the insurgents. The majority of those who had returned from Bayonne were still in Madrid. They began to feel alarmed, as they could discover no means of resistance within the city, and considered themselves as lost, unless they could succeed in disarming the vengeance of an exasperated conqueror. They endeavoured therefore to use their influence for the purpose of prevailing upon the authorities to throw open to him the gates of a capital which could never have been occupied without great effusion of blood, and without burying a great part of it in ruins.

They succeeded in infusing a general spirit of moderation, in dispelling all thoughts of a resistance wholly unavailing to the country's interests, and in suggesting proposals more in unison with the general welfare, a course which was rendered necessary by the extreme urgency of the case.

Notwithstanding these endeavours no terms had yet been listened to; and as often as we approached the rampart or a gate, we were received with a volley of musketry. The

Emperor determined to force an entrance on three or four points of the rampart, where it was at a sufficient distance from the first houses to admit of troops being drawn up in the intervening space.

He selected, amongst other points, the exterior side of the garden of the Retiro, the embattled brick-wall of which was beaten down by cannon-shot to an extent of about twenty toises.

The troops immediately entered through the opening in the most regular order; and by this movement the gate of Alcala was cleared, and the troops could take up their station undisturbed as far as the borders of the public walk on the Prado.

The three main streets which run from the city to this walk were protected by intrenchments with a strong parapet behind them. At first a sharp fire of musketry was kept up from the casements of the houses forming the entrance of those streets, and particularly from the hotel of Medina-Celi, but it was soon silenced by the warm return made to it; and as the gate had been very imprudently left open, our soldiers forced an entrance, killed every one they found in arms, and so completely plundered the hotel, that it afforded a lesson to others not to incur the same danger.

General Labruyere, who headed the 9th regiment of light infantry, was killed by a musket-shot fired from one of the windows of the hotel of Medina-Celi already mentioned.

The position we had taken up served to open the eyes of the members of the junta, who were unwilling to expose Madrid to the dangers of a sack, which would have been unavoidable if once the troops forced their way into the houses.

They therefore sent flags of truce in all haste to the Emperor's camp, with full powers to treat for the surrender of Madrid, which accordingly submitted to terms, and acknowledged King Joseph; but as we had not been able to effect the complete investment of the city, owing to the great extent

of ground which it covered, a considerable number of people left it during the following night. The population, as well as the Andalusian militiamen who composed the garrison, withdrew by the gate of Aranjuez, and retreated in all directions towards Valencia, La Mancha, and Estramadura: no attempt was made to prevent them, and their return was left to the progress of time.

The French troops entered Madrid: the Emperor, however, did not take up his residence in the city, but remained at Chamartin, a distance from it of about two leagues. King Joseph also abstained from entering his capital, and stayed at the Pardo, a palace of the Spanish monarchs, at a league from Madrid; and he there issued his orders, and organised the new administration.

The greater part of the Spanish grandees who, after coming to Bayonne, acknowledging King Joseph, and taking the oath of allegiance to that sovereign, had since betrayed him, had remained in Madrid, and attempted again to make terms with the King; but he refused to receive them: they were all arrested as traitors, and sent to France, where they were detained for a considerable time. One of them, the Duke of St. Simon, was very near forfeiting his life; because, after placing himself in the same predicament with the rest, he had been taken in arms at the head of a troop of insurgents: he would infallibly have fallen a victim to the severity of the military laws, had not the Emperor been moved to grant his pardon to the tears and entreaties of his family.

The leaders of the Spanish insurrection were dealt with nearly in the same manner as they had acted towards General Dupont, whom they plundered, after a capitulation had been allowed to him. All their property was seized: they were treated as men whose word was not to be depended upon; and no consideration was shown to them.

It is of importance to relate, in this place, that an inspection of the Duke del Infantado's closet brought to light the

correspondence of the Queen and Prince Royal of Naples with the Prince of Asturias, who, it is well known, had married a daughter of the Queen of Naples.

The greater part of those letters were written at a time when the French were taking possession of the kingdom of Naples, and after the opening of its port to the Russian and British troops, in 1805. The letters of the Prince of Asturias, to which the others were replies, divulged the impatient anxiety he expressed to his step-mother of ascending the throne, for the purpose of aiding to avenge her.

It is quite inconceivable that M. del Infantado should not have taken more care to conceal letters of so much importance: they were found lying on a table in his closet, shut up in two old boxes, which had previously contained Havannah cigars.

The Emperor remained at Chamartin until about the end of December, seeking in all directions for intelligence of the English army, which he had expected to come up with at Madrid, considering, as he did, that it was the main strength of the insurrection, and that it must, therefore, have remained at a short distance from the capital, in order to foment that insurrection by every means in its power, and retire upon Cadiz if it were compelled to make a retreat. So silent, however, were the Spaniards in their intercourse with us, so complete the indifference of the officers at the head of the cavalry, that whilst the Emperor was sending horsemen from Burgos to Valladolid, to collect news, the whole English army was upon the Douro, and occupied Zamora and Toro, near that river, with its head-quarters at Salamanca.

The Emperor was still at Chamartin, in a state of the utmost impatience, when the general in command at Valladolid sent him three Frenchmen, who had been taken prisoners with the corps of General Dupont, and were driven by distress to enlist in the free corps which England was raising. They had deserted, upon learning the arrival of the French at

Valladolid, and brought the news that the whole English army was at Salamanca, with its advanced-guard at Zamora: they had left the army there about the 10th or 11th of the present month, and it was not making any preparations to retreat, the transports not having yet arrived. These soldiers gave so clear an account of what they had seen, that the Emperor placed confidence in their report: he desired a reward to be given to them; but was much displeased at only obtaining these details through the zeal of the three fugitives from the English ranks, whilst he had upwards of ten cavalry regiments in the neighbourhood of Valladolid, who had not yet furnished him any intelligence.

It is easy to imagine the extent of his disappointment at having come to Madrid, of which he could never have failed to obtain possession, at a time when it was in his power to gain every possible advantage over the English army, whose presence constituted the whole strength of the Spanish insurrection.

He immediately ordered the army to break up from its quarters the same day, and cross the chain of mountains which divides the province of Madrid from that of Segovia, by proceeding along the Guadarrama, that is to say, by the road from Madrid to the palace and convent of the Escurial. The Emperor took his departure the next morning, which was Christmas-eve, in very fine weather, and with the sun to cheer us as far as the foot of the mountain. We found the road covered with a deep column of infantry, slowly ascending that mountain, which is sufficiently elevated for its summit to be covered with snow until the month of June. In advance of the infantry was a convoy of artillery coming back towards us, because the passage had been rendered dangerous by a storm of sleet and snow, accompanied with a violent hurricane: the sky was as dark as at the close of day, and the Spanish peasantry told us that we were in danger of being buried under the snow, an accident which had sometimes

occurred. We never remembered so severe a cold in Poland; but the Emperor was anxious that the defile should be passed, for the sake of his army, which was augmenting in numbers at the foot of the mountain, where no provisions could be found. He directed them to follow him, and declared he would place himself at the head of the column. He accordingly passed with the regiment of chasseurs of his guard through the ranks of the infantry; he then made this regiment form into a close column, occupying the whole width of the road: he next ordered them to dismount, and having also left his horse, he placed himself behind the first platoon, and directed them to march forward. The chasseurs advanced on foot in this manner, pell-mell with their horses, the dense body which they presented sheltering from the storm those who followed, and trampling the snow so effectually, as to leave a free opening for the infantry.

The platoon at the head of the column were the only troops that suffered much. The Emperor was greatly exhausted by the march; but it was impossible to remain on horseback. As I was walking close by him, he availed himself of the assistance of my arm, and kept it till we had reached the foot of the mountain, on the other side of the Guadarrama. He had intended to proceed that night as far as Villa-Castel, but he found every one so exhausted, and the cold so severe, that he stopped at the post-house named Espinar, which is at the foot of the mountain.

So great was the zeal displayed by every one in his service, that the mule which carried his baggage was brought to this wretched house, the only one found for supplying the wants of the immense crowd that had gathered round it: he was therefore provided with a good fire, a tolerable supper, and a bed. On those occasions the Emperor was not selfish—a charge which it has been attempted to fasten upon him: he was quite unmindful of the next day's wants when he alone was concerned: he shared his fire and supper with all who

had been able to keep up with him, and even compelled those to eat whose reserve kept them back.

We passed a wretched night in this post-house at Espinar. Some soldiers actually died of cold: the Emperor, however, by the example he had set to his troops, had made the whole army penetrate through a defile which for any one else would have been a work of two days.

He stopped one day at Villa-Castel for the purpose of collecting the stragglers; and the army afterwards made a long march in order to reach the Douro, which they crossed at Tordesillas on the second day.

The Emperor himself proceeded at a rapid rate for the purpose of collecting any information that might be obtained. He ascertained at Tordesillas that the English army had left Salamanca and crossed the Douro at Zamora, taking the road of the kingdom of Leon. He was in the utmost impatience at the non-arrival of his infantry, and much displeased at not having been informed eight days before of the English army being at Salamanca: nevertheless he still hoped to come up with its rear or the stragglers. Marshal Ney's corps having been the first to arrive, he advanced in person at the head of it in most wretched weather, and penetrated over hedge and ditch as far as Valderas, where he learned the arrival at the town of Leon of a corps he had sent forward from Burgos.

He stopped at Valderas in order to ascertain the progress of the troops in his rear, and to send reconnoitring parties in all directions: it became perceptible that we were approaching the English army. The peasantry when asked for any information respecting the British troops, replied that they passed by so many hours back, and were following the road to Benavente. The Emperor continued to hurry forward with the utmost speed; but the roads were almost impassable from the mud, and the artillery being unable to follow, the rest of the troops were obliged to wait for its coming up: this was so

much time gained by the retreating army. The Emperor's impatience, however, was such, that he sent forward the regiment of horse chasseurs of his guard in hopes of their coming up with the enemy. General Lefevre-Desnouettes, who commanded it, being over eager to commence the engagement, imprudently hurried forward, reached the borders of the Exla at the moment when the enemy had completed the destruction of the bridge by means of which the river is crossed on the road to Benavente. He saw the enemy's cavalry on the other bank, and immediately formed the daring project of driving it back. He tried for a long time to discover a ford in the river, which had been greatly swollen by the late heavy falls of rain: he found one at last, crossed the river with four squadrons of chasseurs of the guard, and proceeded at their head to attack the English cavalry on the other side; but he was soon overpowered by the numbers of the enemy, who drove him back fighting his way to the ford, where our troops must have been all taken prisoners had it not been for the activity of the chasseurs, who quickly recrossed it; but General Lefevre determined, like a gallant fellow, to be the last to cross over, and he was taken prisoner, together with sixty chasseurs of his regiment.

This news was brought to the Emperor at Valderas, and gave him great pain, owing to the particular value he set upon the chasseurs of the guard. He did not, however, condemn the courageous determination of their colonel, though he regretted that he had not had shown more self-command.

He left Valderas as soon as the cavalry arrived, and proceeded with it towards Benavente, ordering the infantry to follow. The river Exla had been so much increased by the rains, that it was no longer possible to pass the ford at which the chasseurs had been able to cross. It became necessary to look out for another, which was only found at a late hour, below the bridge. The whole of the cavalry passed over; the Emperor followed; and we immediately marched to Benavente,

which we left considerably behind us in the night, taking the road to Astorga. We found in the town of Benavente the requisite materials for repairing the bridge on the Exla, by means of which the infantry crossed it during the night.

The Emperor slept at Benavente, and remained there the next day to bring up the army. The English were closely pursued; but they abandoned nothing in their retreat. We saw several dead horses of the English cavalry upon the road, and found they all had a hoof cut away. We afterwards learned that the English cavalryman who parted with his horse was obliged to bring the hoof to his captain as a proof that the animal was dead; otherwise he might be suspected of having sold it.

We continued in close pursuit of the English: our advanced-guard bivouacked every night in sight of their rear-guard: but our column was extremely extended, and had a difficulty in assuming a more compact form. This processional form of march, we had of late adopted, was owing to the storm we had encountered in crossing the Guadarrama, and to the mud and rains of Valderas.

The Emperor's impatience was so great, that he at last quitted Benavente to follow the army, which was on the road to Corunna. I accompanied him, and we were riding at full gallop, when an officer coming from Benavente, which he had left a few moments after us, stated that he had just seen a courier from Paris, who was coming in all haste to overtake the Emperor. On learning this information the Emperor stopped his horse, dismounted, ordered a fire of bivouac to be lighted on the road, and remained there until the courier's arrival, notwithstanding a severe fall of snow. The Prince of Neufchatel was with him: he opened the courier's valise, and handed to the Emperor the letters which were addressed to him.

Although his countenance seldom altered, I fancied that he assumed a thoughtful air on reading the dispatches; and I

was confirmed in this opinion by our remounting our horses and proceeding to Astorga, at a moderate pace, without his uttering a single word.

When arrived at Astorga, he no longer spoke of going on to Corunna, but waited for the whole army, and reviewed the different corps in the order of their joining him.

The English army had at last come to a determination: it was in full retreat, and could not well stop at any other place than Corunna. The question was, whether its transports would be found there in readiness to receive it, in which case there would be no possibility of obstructing the embarkation; or whether it would have to wait for the ships—a delay which our army might have turned to great advantage.

The Emperor gave the command of the army to Marshal Soult, and urged him to proceed by forced marches, so as not to allow the English army any breathing time. He intimated to him that he would yet stop a day or two at Astorga, and a still longer time at Benavente; at both which places he would expect to receive news from him, which would either cause his return towards Corunna, if the English were compelled to maintain their ground in that province, or enable him to proceed to Valladolid, if they should re-embark.

Marshal Soult instantly marched forward, and pressed the English rear-guard so closely, that his own advanced-guard was often engaged with it. General Auguste Colbert was killed in one of these encounters, and was regretted by all his companions in arms. Intelligence was daily sent from the army to the Emperor, which enabled him to ascertain their progress and the position of the English. He was still in Benavente when he learned the entrance of our troops into Lugo, and was informed a few days afterwards of the arrival at Corunna of the transports which were intended for removing the English army. He now clearly saw that nothing could prevent the return of that army to England, and he prepared to leave Benavente forthwith.

CHAPTER III.

The Emperor at Valladolid—General Legendre—Deputation from the city of Madrid—Audience granted to it by the Emperor—King Joseph enters Madrid—Intelligence from France—The author's conversation with the Emperor on the subject—Arrangements in respect to relays of horses—The Emperor's return to Paris—M. de Metternich.

THE Emperor had his relays so placed as to enable him to reach Valladolid in a day. He brought back all the horse and foot guards to that city, where he made some stay, and sent forward Marshal Lannes to take the command of the siege of Sarragossa: his attention was also engaged upon several other measures relating to the safety of the army and the promptness of its operations.

He was waited upon in Valladolid by an officer from the court of Milan, who brought him news of the birth of a child to the Viceroy of Italy; but he showed some degree of ill-humour when giving audience to one of his old staff-officers, who had been made prisoner whilst fulfilling a mission confided to him at Corunna in the beginning of the insurrection: this officer had been kept a close prisoner on board ship during five or six months, and had just recovered his liberty by the entrance of the French troops into Corunna. He came to inform us that the transports of the English army had not yet arrived on the day of the action which had taken place between Marshal Soult and the English army in front of Corunna, and in which General Moore, the commander-in-chief of that army, had been killed. The Emperor could not repress a feeling of anger on this occasion: he again complained that no information had been given to him of the English being at Salamanca and Zamora: if he had been apprised of it he would have marched forward to meet them previously to his

advancing upon Madrid; and would have given them battle with an army four times their own numbers. He scolded every one, but always with a certain degree of good-humour, and was never so well disposed to grant a person a favour as after he had given him a severe lecture.

He also learned at Valladolid from the minister of war the arrival at Toulon of Generals Dupont and Marescot, the officers who had signed the capitulation of Baylen. This news had the effect of reviving his spleen, and he gave severe orders respecting them.

General Legendre, who was chief of the staff of that division, had returned to France some time before, and felt no apprehension of coming to join the Emperor at Valladolid. The Emperor refused to receive him except on a parade of the 17th regiment of infantry, which he was that day passing in review. There were thirty generals, and upwards of 300 inferior officers present, when the Emperor ordered General Legendre to appear before him: he treated him with great severity, and addressed, amongst others, the following observations to that officer: "You were one of the colonels of the army for whom I entertained most regard, and yet you submitted to be one of the instruments of that disgraceful transaction at Baylen! Could this have been expected of you, an old soldier of the army of Italy? Did not your hand wither at signing such an infamous act? And yet, in order to crown the work, you became the organ of a fraudulent proceeding, in order to deceive Videl, your companion in arms, who had extricated himself from his difficulties, and to compel his taking part in a disgrace which was forced upon his troops, without telling him the motive of your coming for him!"

General Legendre endeavoured to excuse himself as well as he could; he declared he had not taken any thing upon his own responsibility, but had merely obeyed the order of his commander-in-chief. The Emperor pretended to credit the assertion, though he was not the dupe of it: he had been the

more angry because a great number of officers of all ranks were listening to him, who might from one day to another find themselves in the same difficulty in which General Dupont and his troops had been involved. The Emperor did not punish General Legendre: by doing so he would have belied his character. When a man was known to him by many gallant deeds, an isolated fault did not ruin that man in his opinion, especially when he had in some measure acted under superior orders. Any other individual laying claim to as many courageous deeds as General Legendre, and who had been guilty of a like fault, committed with premeditation, and after mature reflection, would have been called to a severer account in proportion to the means which his judgment, experience, and position might have afforded him for avoiding it; so that, under similar circumstances, common to both individuals, the one would have been treated with indulgence, and the other for ever lost in his opinion; or, in other words, could never have expected any favour from him, though such officer would not have been deprived of the benefit of his previous services.

The Emperor received at Valladolid a numerous deputation from Madrid, which came to solicit his permission for King Joseph to enter their city, this sovereign having continued to reside at the Pardo, because the Emperor was anxious to see what turn the affairs of Spain might take before he would allow the King to make his entry into a capital which he might be under the necessity of abandoning a second time.

I was present at the audience he gave the deputation. He had for his interpreter M. Hedouville, the minister of France at the court of the Prince Primate of Germany, whom he had ordered to head-quarters in consequence of his fluency in speaking the Spanish language. He was much attached to M. Hedouville, whom he had known before the revolution.

The Emperor desired the deputation to state "Whether this step was voluntary on their part, and uninfluenced by any foreign suggestion;" and added, "that if it did not proceed from

their own spontaneous free-will, it would be far from agreeable to him, and they were then at liberty to return."

It was a curious spectacle to see them at this moment bending their knees, and swearing that they had come of their own accord, after having held a meeting at Madrid, with the approbation of the King, who had authorised them to go and present to the Emperor the expression of their spontaneous wishes.

The Emperor answered them in the following words: "If this is really the case, I am pleased at the course you have adopted, and shall now candidly speak my mind to you.

"If it be your wish to have the King in the midst of you, in order to assist him in enlightening your fellow-countrymen, and averting a civil war, to serve him as faithful Spaniards, and not to follow the example of those who, after having taken the oath of allegiance to him at Bayonne, deserted their sovereign upon the slightest appearance of danger, I consent to his going to reside in your city; but, in this case, gentlemen, take notice that you are personally responsible to me for his safety.

"If, on the contrary, you desire to have the King amongst you, merely as a means of evading the burdens inseparable from the presence of so large an army, let me now undeceive you. I am the more distressed at your sufferings, as I was anxious to avert them by operating through your instrumentality the changes which I am compelled to effect by force of arms. The King's presence at Madrid will not in the least alter that position, unless you hasten to rally round his person all the enlightened characters which your country can boast of, who will have no sooner taken that course than a visible alteration will take place, and a calm be produced in the public mind, which is alone calculated to restore order in the different cities, now a prey to agitation and disturbance.

"Reflect well upon what I have said, and if you have not formed the firm determination of serving the King, do not

expose yourselves to the unpleasant results that would attend an assurance to the contrary."

They replied by renewing their protestations of fidelity, and were much astonished at the frankness of the Emperor's address. They entreated him to rely upon the sincerity of their intention to serve the King, adding, that they would never, directly or indirectly, take any part in the political agitations which were then convulsing the country; and they again urged him to allow the King to reside amongst them.

The Emperor told them in answer that he trusted to their word; that they were at liberty to return and have an audience of the King at the Pardo: he would, on his part, write to him, and let him know that he no longer had any objection to his making his entry into Madrid. It took place accordingly; and the Spanish administration prepared to commence its labours, and cause its authority to be respected. Had it been possible to come up with the English army previously to this occurrence, and compel it to fight a battle, which must have necessarily been fatal to it, the party of King Joseph would have considerably increased; but in the absence of that event the Spaniards remained in an attitude of indifference. On the other hand, our troops were becoming so heavy a burden by their exactions, and the vexatious conduct of several of their superior officers, and even of their generals, that the inhabitants gave themselves up to despair.

They at first exhibited the utmost sluggishness in complying with the requisitions made upon them; the difficulties of subsisting and of keeping up the communications, instead of being removed, were becoming greater every day; the stronger party enforced obedience in the tone of conquerors; and the Spaniards whom it had been found impossible to persuade, would not submit to be enslaved. The excitement gradually grew worse, and both parties soon flew to arms. It is an undeniable fact, that the misconduct of a great number of the officers who have held separate commands in Spain,

has contributed more to the general rising throughout the country, than the want of success which attended some of our operations.

The Emperor waited at Valladolid for intelligence of the King's entry into Madrid. The information brought to him by several couriers from Paris created some bursts of ill-humour. He one day sent for me to ask questions respecting matters with which he supposed that I was previously acquainted.

It is proper to mention in this place that, before quitting Paris, many motives arose for his urging the departure of the Grand-duke of Berg. I agreed in opinion with those who supposed that he meditated the idea of succeeding to the Emperor. He was weak enough in mind to give way to such an illusion; and some intriguing men in France would have desired nothing better than to see at the head of the government a man who would have constantly stood in need of them, and who might therefore have been turned to any account they thought proper. I do not believe the Grand-duke of Berg would have ever made himself the instrument of any attempt against the Emperor's person; but as the contrivers of intrigues had laid it down as a principle that the Emperor would infallibly perish in battle or by assassination, as often as he proceeded to join the army some project was prepared which his safe return was as sure to disappoint.

The case was still worse when he took his departure for Spain: those intriguers asserted that he would be assassinated before he could have proceeded a distance of ten leagues; and as they knew that the Emperor was always on horseback, and personally examined every thing, they delighted in the anticipation of his coming to an untimely end. They accordingly set to work with redoubled ardour. In this manner was the Emperor's service attended to by men whose duty it was to calm agitations and enlighten public opinion, instead of allowing it to take a wrong direction, by setting the ex-

ample of a wavering conduct, which at last broke through all bounds.

Each time the Emperor returned to France they found no other means of getting out of the difficulties in which they had involved themselves, than by denouncing each other's misconduct.

The Emperor asked me if I was in the habit of receiving letters from Paris. I replied that I never received any except from my family, who never wrote on public affairs. In this conversation he told me that he was not faithfully served; that he was under the necessity of having an eye to every thing, and was so unfortunate as to meet with people who, instead of relieving him from the pressure of business, had contracted a habit of throwing difficulties in his way. "To them is owing," he added, "that the hopes of foreigners are still alive; they constantly prepare fresh embarrassments for me, by allowing the latter to foresee the mere possibility of a disunion in France. But what can we do? we must only make use of those men as we find them."

I told him all that occurred to me on the subject: my own opinion was in accordance with that of several faithful servants, who were as anxious as I was for a continuation of his successes, and to whom I imparted the fears I entertained of the result of such intrigues.

He said not a word of his near return to Paris, but stated to me his intention of sending a staff-officer to St. Petersburg. I concluded, therefore, that his return to Paris had been resolved upon in his meditations on the journey from Benavente to Astorga, especially as the courier, whose dispatches he had read on the high-road, had been sent by M. de Champagny. I learned from the Prince of Neufchatel, who had received a letter from the King of Bavaria, that this sovereign had sent an intimation to the Emperor that he should be on his guard against Austria, who was arming, and getting all the resources of the monarchy in readiness: she had never, on any

other occasion, raised a levy of the landwehr. He had sent him a copy of the dispatch received from his own minister at the court of Vienna. This intelligence opened my eyes to what I had noticed for the last week, and I guessed the cause of the mission of a staff-officer to St. Petersburg.

The Emperor issued his instructions for the future progress of the military operations in Navarre, as well as in Arragon and Catalonia; he organised the formation of a movable army, for which he left general directions, and commanded his guard to proceed to Burgos, where it was to wait further orders. He did not bring it at once with him, because he had not yet determined upon the course he should pursue, his own plans being in a great measure dependant upon the movements of the enemy.

He ordered his saddle horses to be placed in relays on the road from Valladolid to Burgos, with a picket of chasseurs at each relay, so as to leave a distance of only three or four leagues from one relay to another. The Emperor often made these arrangements himself, and in the utmost secrecy. They can only be explained by stating, that his saddle horses were divided into brigades of nine horses each, two being for himself, and the other seven for those of his suite who were constantly in attendance upon him. The draught horses were divided according to the number of relays, each consisting of six sets of horses; a picket was attached to each brigade and relay. Supposing, therefore, that the Emperor had a distance of twenty leagues to perform on horseback, six brigades were generally placed along the road. The horses belonging to the grooms carried portmanteaus with complete changes of dress, and with portfolios containing paper, pens, ink, maps, and telescopes. If twenty leagues were to be performed in a calash or a carriage, six relays of draught horses were stationed along the road, instead of six brigades of saddle horses. Both brigades were numbered, as well as the escorting

pickets, and could be assembled in the night-time without the smallest noise or confusion.

The Emperor's aides-de-camp were required in such cases to provide a horse for each brigade; but when the journey was performed in a carriage, they were allowed a seat in it.

The Emperor took his departure from Valladolid at an early hour in the morning, in fine frosty weather, and arrived at Burgos at full gallop. He performed the distance in five or six hours: never did any sovereign ride at such a rapid rate. He had also ordered relays of carriage horses to be placed on the road from Burgos to Bayonne; only stopped a moment at Burgos, and continued his journey to Bayonne without once getting out of his carriage. He remained but one morning at the latter place, and immediately proceeded to Paris, travelling on at such a rapid rate that no one was able to keep up with him. He arrived alone in the capital towards the end of January, and created an extraordinary sensation by his return, which was not expected that winter. The society of Paris, which rarely at any time turns its attention to public affairs, was engaged in the amusements peculiar to the season: the appearance of a new comedy is more spoken of in the capital than ten battles won or lost. A foreigner learns in Paris whatever he desires to ascertain; but a Frenchman may reside in it in perfect ignorance of that which most interests him, without perceiving any void in his daily occupations.

Count Metternich was at this period the Austrian ambassador in France, having been invested with that character about the year 1806, and the interval between the peace which put an end to the campaign of 1805 and his arrival having been filled up by General Baron Vincent. I have retained a perfect recollection of the time when he presented his credentials. He had been but a short time amongst us when he acquired a deep knowledge of all the intrigues which constantly abound in Paris. In vain was M. Fouché's

attention directed to the people who were on terms of intimacy with the ambassadors: he would not stir a step; and I have known certain representatives of foreign courts who kept up a regular system of espionage, where politics, the government, public opinion, affairs of gallantry, and in short every thing was attended to. These spies were generally employed to bring idle reports to the minister of police, who was often made the dupe of them.

M. de Metternich had extended the ramifications of his system so far that no man but the Emperor was able to unravel it. He had succeeded in conveying every rumour he thought proper to the ears of the minister of police, by means of a person over whom he exercised the most absolute sway, and whose services M. Fouché could not dispense with. Prudence forbids me to reveal the name of that person, nor could there be any use in my doing so.

The stories, therefore, which M. Fouché came to relate to the Emperor often proceeded from that personage. The minister imagined that he saw clearly through him; but the Emperor had long ceased to place any reliance upon his reports. A spirit of acrimony soon began to manifest itself in our relations with Austria. During the month of February, to the best of my recollection, or at least towards the end of it, that power issued a kind of manifesto, declaring, that in order to secure its independence, it was about to adopt measures calculated to protect it against any possible act of aggression. This declaration, made at a time of profound peace, when France had just withdrawn her armies from Germany, could not in any way rest upon reasonable motives of alarm; it rather appeared to be the signal of a new crusade, under circumstances deemed by that power such as to afford her a prospect of recovering what she had lost in preceding wars. It was never viewed in any other light.

CHAPTER IV.

Reception given to the diplomatic body—Words addressed by the Emperor to M. de Metternich—Assurances of the court of St. Petersburg—Extent of the Emperor's reliance upon them—Preparations for war—Public opinion.

THE declaration of Austria had but recently made its appearance, when one of those days of etiquette came round on which it was the Emperor's custom to receive the diplomatic body.

The members who composed it were in the habit of forming a circle round the hall of the throne, where they took their places according to the date of their residence in Paris (an arrangement adopted by the representatives of the great powers); and the Emperor made the round of the circle, beginning on his right, and conversed in succession with each of the ambassadors, ministers, envoys, and others. On that particular day, when he came up to M. de Metternich, he stopped short, and as some eclat was expected, owing to the knowledge which every one had of the declaration of the Austrian government, a profound silence pervaded the hall as soon as the Emperor was seen face to face with M. de Metternich. After the customary compliments, "Well, then," he said, "something new going on at Vienna: what does all this mean? Are they suffering from the bite of a tarantula spider? Who is it has threatened you? Against whom are your preparations directed? Is it again your wish to set the world on fire? How can it be that, when my army was in Germany, you did not consider your existence as threatened, and you do so now when that army is in Spain! A strange kind of reasoning, indeed! What must be the result of this? That I shall be compelled to arm in imitation of you. I should have to fear

the consequences of neglecting this course; and it is my duty to be on my guard."

M. de Metternich protested that his court entertained no such project; that it merely took measures of precaution under circumstances which the situation of Europe appeared to call for; but that they concealed no ulterior views.

To which the Emperor replied: "But whence arises this uneasiness? If you, sir, have given cause for it by your communications to your court, why not tell me so? I am ready to afford you every explanation that will enable you to satisfy it. In suggesting to your court that she should add to her security, you have disturbed mine and that of many others besides."

M. de Metternich endeavoured to defend himself, and was anxious for the end of this conversation, when the Emperor said to him: "In all my dealings with your court, sir, I have always been the dupe. I must now speak plainly to you; there is too much noise for the continuation of peace, and too little for the breaking out of a war."

He then passed on to another ambassador, and so concluded his audience; after which, more than one courier was assuredly dispatched to foreign courts. The one from M. de Metternich to his court was no doubt hurried off forthwith; for Austria was already assembling her armies, whilst the Emperor had not yet at command the first elements of one. A conscription was immediately called out; the soldiers were equipped in all haste, and sent off in carriages to their destination. The guard which was still at Burgos in Spain was ordered to repair to Germany.

Never had the Emperor been taken so much by surprise: this war completely astonished him. "There must," he said to us, "be some plans in preparation which I do not penetrate, for there is madness in declaring war against me. They fancy me dead. We shall soon see how matters will turn out this time. It will be laid to my charge that I cannot remain

quiet; that I am ambitious; whilst their follies alone compel me to be so. It is impossible, however, that they could have dreamed of fighting against me single handed. I expect a courier from Russia: if matters go on there as I have reason to hope they do, I will give them work."

The courier from Russia was not long in making his appearance: he brought a reply to the dispatches which had been placed in the care of the staff-officer sent from Valladolid to the Russian capital. Alexander renewed the assurance of his friendly sentiments, and informed the Emperor Napoleon of the details of what had passed between him and Austria respecting the projects of the latter power. M. de Caulaincourt, our ambassador, wrote in still more positive language. He stated that Austria had dispatched Prince Schwartzenburg* to St. Petersburg, for the purpose of soliciting an alliance, and of inducing Russia to enter into a new plan of war against France; but that the Emperor Alexander had rejected all those proposals, and showed a firm determination to adhere to the sentiments he had manifested to the Emperor Napoleon. He went farther, and declared that he could not view with indifference the aggression to which his ally might be exposed in consequence of the refusal he was giving to the Austrian ambassador's proposal. M. de Caulaincourt increased our confidence: what he saw, and what was said to him, were enough to lull him into complete security. We have learned, however, from Colonel Boutourlin, at a later period, how insincere were all those professions.

"The Emperor Alexander," he tells us, "was fully aware of the spirit and tendency of the clauses of the treaty of Tilsit; but the unhappy circumstances in which Europe was placed at the period of his signing it, had imposed upon him the necessity of averting the war upon any terms. Above all, it was an object of paramount importance to gain the re-

* The same who was afterwards ambassador at Paris.

quisite time for preparing to engage with adequate means in the struggle which it was clear would be renewed at a future day." Such were Alexander's intentions in treating, such the good faith with which he had laid aside his arms. His conduct was not marked with greater frankness in the alliance than it had been in the negotiation; and if he did not, immediately on quitting Erfurt, violate the engagements he had entered into—if he did not make common cause with Austria, the motive is to be found in his inability to afford that power effectual support, owing to the dispersion of his armies, which were employed against Sweden and against Turkey.* He had not yet laid aside, however, his affecta-

* "The mind of the Emperor Napoleon being set at rest (by the conventions at Erfurt) respecting the affairs of Germany, he detached powerful reinforcements to his armies in Spain, and repaired in person to the Peninsula for the purpose of superintending the operations of a brilliant campaign, which bid fair to be a decisive one: he dispersed the Spanish armies, recovered possession of Madrid, and compelled an English army, which had advanced as far as Toro, to re-embark at Corunna. These successes held out a prospect of an early subjugation of the whole of the Peninsula; but the activity which Austria continued to display in her armaments compelled the Emperor of the French to quit Spain, and return in all haste to Paris.

"The sacrifices which the treaty of Presburg had wrung from Austria were too great to be patiently submitted to by the cabinet of Vienna; but the disorganization of its armies, a necessary consequence of the repeated reverses they had suffered, had hitherto prevented it from attempting to realise the plans which it secretly nourished. It had not availed itself of the opportunity offered by the war between France and Russia; it deemed the chances more favourable which were presented by the events in Spain, and the embarrassment which they occasioned to Napoleon.

"The cabinet of Vienna, therefore, began to make its preparations for war in perfect security. The interview at Erfurt increased the alarm felt by the ministers of the Emperor Francis; but as their measures had not yet reached their full maturity, they determined to dissemble with France. They even succeeded in deceiving the Emperor Napoleon, who, feeling satisfied by their protestations, did not hesitate in removing the greater part of his forces and sending them into Spain. Availing herself of these circumstances, Austria hurried on her armaments with an activity which left no longer any doubt as to the nature of her plans.

"The Emperor Napoleon was sincerely desirous of avoiding a fresh war, which

tion of enthusiasm: there was no exaggeration in what Boutourlin revealed to us of his consummate duplicity. True it is, that every action is subject to a natural test, which is the touchstone by which false coin is detected. This test, which ought not to have escaped the penetration of our ambassador, was to be found in straightforward good sense.

Scarcely four months had elapsed since the interview at Erfurt had taken place: the conferences there were too fresh in the recollection of every one to be so soon forgotten. What did we want for putting an end to our existing difficulties but the maintenance of peace in Germany? Who could effect this object? Was it the sovereign who had just removed his army from that country, or the one who possessed in it all the weight of his physical and moral power? especially, when that power had been found sufficient in 1805 to determine Austria to wage a war, which she afterwards declared had unexpectedly come upon her. Was it unreasonable to suppose that that power (Russia) being united in intentions and in efforts with France, would

would operate as an unfavourable diversion to his affairs in Spain; but all his endeavours to maintain a friendly intercourse were viewed by the Austrians as a proof of his weakness, and only served to confirm them in their projects by leading them to suppose that they would take France off her guard.

"Russia was called upon to act a very difficult part. On the one hand, it was contrary to her interest to co-operate in the ruin of the only power which still presented an intervening mass between her and Napoleon's empire; whilst, on the other hand, she could not refuse her assistance to France without violating her engagements with that country, the sacredness of which had not been weakened by any infringement on the part of Napoleon. Besides, had even the cabinet of St. Petersburg overlooked these moral considerations for the sake of higher political objects, and come to the determination of supporting Austria, she could not have done so in any effectual manner, owing to the distance of her armies, which were engaged in the wars against Sweden and Turkey; and the small number of troops she could dispose of on the frontiers of Galicia could have done no more than share in the reverses of Austria without having the power ro repair them." *Military History of the Campaign in Russia*, by Colonel Boutourlin, Vol. 1. page 36.

prevent Austria from entering singly into the field, when Austria herself had stood in need of being stimulated by Russia, four years before, ere she would enter into the coalition against France? It would be an insult to common sense to attempt to persuade that Austria would have ventured to commence the war had the Russians positively declared to her that they would take the field with us, or had they even made a semblance of doing so. If therefore the Austrians were the first to throw down the gauntlet, it is because they had at least the assurance of an armed neutrality, such as they themselves had maintained after the battle of Eylau. These are the particulars which it was important for the Emperor to be possessed of, but which the course of events brought too late to his knowledge.

A feeling of uneasiness began to prevail when the news was brought that, in the council held on the return of Prince Schwartzenburg from St. Petersburg, war had been determined upon, notwithstanding the objections of General Meyer, a member of that council, who declared in plain terms, that to make war against France without the concurrence of Russia, was an act of pure folly. The opinion of General Meyer was of some weight at that time; and its not having been assented to clearly proves that certain expectations were entertained which had not been communicated to the council.

The Emperor, still relying upon what M. de Caulaincourt had communicated to him, trusted that Russia would not limit herself to a mere neutrality, and that her threats would be followed up by measures calculated to keep Austria within bounds. He was undeceived, however, when he learned through his ambassador at Vienna what had taken place on Prince Schwartzenburg's return. He soon decided upon the course he had to pursue; in other words, he formed the resolution of depending solely upon himself; since all the promises made at Tilsit and at Erfurt were reduced, on the part

of Russia, to her managing her affairs quietly with her own enemies, and leaving us to settle with ours, presuming, no doubt, that we were much beholden to her for not joining them against us. I never saw the Emperor so calm at any time as when he received this information. "We shall now see," he said, "whether Russia deserves the name of a great power, and whether she will march to assist me as she did to assist Austria in 1805. France, her ally, is attacked; I claim her assistance; let us see in what manner she will come forward."

He complained of the inefficient manner in which he was served; nor was it altogether without just grounds that he did so; but no time was to be lost to avert the meditated attack; he forthwith demanded of the sovereigns and confederated princes their respective contingents, which troops were necessarily to form the principal part of his army; he sent his orders to Italy, and attended in France to all the measures that were to precede his departure, and be carried into effect during his absence.

The unexpected news of the Austrian preparations for war created the deepest sensation upon the public mind. The nation found itself again involved in interminable wars; and as the Legislative Body had closed its sittings, there was no possibility of resorting to that channel for entering into explanations concerning this event, and calming the uneasiness created by so unexpected an occurrence. In France, when public opinion does not receive a proper direction, it invariably becomes the sport of intriguers, who make it subservient to sinister purposes. This was the case on the present occasion. The omission to lay open to the public the conduct of Austria afforded to evil-minded people an opportunity of assigning to her all the honours of this new war, the cause of which was designedly ascribed to the attempt upon Spain.

The ambassador of Austria, who still remained in Paris, where he essentially promoted the views of his court, was

not slow in taking advantage of a bias in the public opinion which was so favourable to his views, and availed himself of the means above adverted to for the purpose of conveying the belief that Austria was devoting herself for the Spanish cause, which was espoused by all the powers of Europe. He had so often made the assertion, that it was taken up and repeated by the very minister of police, who had become his dupe. I heard some extraordinary reports on this occasion in the police department itself; these, and many others, were quite enough to satisfy me that M. Fouché had never possessed any influence over the minds of any but notoriously credulous people, and that he was always the dupe of every clear-sighted man whom he fancied he had been imposing upon. He did the Emperor a serious injury this year by suffering the opinion respecting Spain to gain ground, which was only spread with the view of depriving him of the popularity he had acquired, when he should either have opposed that opinion, explained it away, or at least resisted its effects.

This course was the more easy, as the war in which Austria was embarking was not grounded on the enterprise of France against Spain; she built, on the contrary, upon that enterprise in which she knew the whole French army to be engaged, her expectation of the successes which she so fondly anticipated, and which she intended to put forth in justification of her unprovoked attack.

It is but justice to observe, that whatever might have been said or done, there was no hope of calming the general agitation of mind, or of reinstating the Emperor in the good opinion which he had enjoyed after the treaty of Tilsit. A peace had then been obtained at the cost of such heavy sacrifices, that the public could not reconcile itself to the idea of seeing all the hopes it had built upon it so quickly dispelled. The nation was then at war with England only, and it was altogether beyond its comprehension that it should

be necessary to occupy Madrid before that country could be brought to listen to terms of peace. It was not known that the enterprise upon Spain had, by an extraordinary concurrence of events, taken a very different turn from that which it would have taken had matters been conducted as they ought to have been; and there was no overlooking the circumstance, that a plan, meditated and prepared beforehand, should have had no other result than to shake the stability of whatever appeared to have been immovably settled after the treaty of Tilsit.

Had fortune favoured our enterprise, no praises would have been sufficient to extol its merit: the case happened otherwise, and blame was unsparingly heaped upon it. I shall abstain from repeating all that was said upon the subject: most people who spoke on public affairs did so at random: suffice it to say, that after the treaty of Tilsit no peace remained unconcluded except with England, and that eighteen months afterwards we had upon our hands a war with Spain and Austria, which, for the purposes of English policy, was the same as if we had continued at war with Russia and Prussia; and, every thing well considered, the former position was more disadvantageous to us than if we had never made peace at Tilsit, because both our adversaries were then exhausted; whereas our two recent enemies were fresh prepared, and full of ardour for the contest. With respect to the French nation, in fact no change had taken place; a renewal of the conscription, and an addition to the public burdens, came upon them as a contrast to the prosperity and improvement of other national interests, which were in a most flourishing condition. Most weighty arguments might have been urged with good effect, in order to keep up the national spirit, to prevent it from slumbering or giving way to a depression which soon became generally prevalent.

Nothing more was necessary than to state the facts as they had really occurred: such a course was perfectly safe, and

even desirable; but in consequence of the obstinate silence maintained, an open field was left to malevolence, which had the effect of gradually disconnecting the Emperor from the national interest. He was fully aware of this: he clearly saw the difference between his present situation and that in which he stood after the peace of Tilsit, and regretted the change; but it did not depend upon him, and it now behoved him not to submit to be the victim of his enemies, nor of the confidence he had placed in allies upon whose attachment he had hitherto depended. He was not quite satisfied on the latter point; it seemed as if an inward feeling admonished him not to place too great a reliance upon it. He still clung, however, to the pleasing idea that the recent occurrence would cement more closely the alliance between him and the Emperor of Russia.

He said to me on one occasion when I had the honour of being alone with him in his carriage, "It appears that every thing goes on well in Russia; * they are marching into Poland an army of 50,000 men to support me: this is something, though I certainly expected more." "So Russia is doing for us," I replied, "pretty nearly what Bavaria has done; undoubtedly the Austrians are not likely to suspend their operations owing to the approach of those 50,000 men. † I am even of opinion that if they do not furnish a greater force, that army will not act; and I should not wonder if it turned out to have been a premeditated arrangement; for this is truly ridiculous, when we consider that in 1805 they brought 200,000 men to bear against us."

"Therefore," said the Emperor, "I rely much more upon my own strength than upon their assistance."

These were, however, very painful reflections, when we

* He had received a second courier from St. Petersburg.

† A corps of 50,000 men was insufficient for assuming the offensive; and would therefore have acted in no other way than as an army of observation.

considered that his enemy was, in 1807, completely under his controul, and that no other condition had been imposed than a consent to live on friendly terms. Let it be borne in mind how much the Emperor might have accomplished had he not concluded the peace of Tilsit. It will shortly be seen what price he had to pay for being generous towards his enemies. Russia had an army engaged in Finland against the Swedes: the Swedes, however, did not threaten St. Petersburg. It had another army in Moldavia against the Turks: the latter, also, were very far from assuming the offensive; and even supposing they were in a condition to act, the Turkish armies could never be dangerous to a European army when they have long marches to perform. Russia, at any rate, was bound to more than she effected in fulfilment of her alliance with us. She could have no difficulty in raising an army, and was never at a loss to do so when circumstances required it. Mere demonstrations would have been sufficient to keep the Austrians in check, and to allow us time for making rapid strides in Spain. But this was now out of the question. The Emperor's instructions relating to that country were, that siege should be laid to Sarragossa and to the fortified towns in Catalonia; that tranquillity should be restored in Castile, and no further progress be made towards the south than the province of La Mancha. By the end of February he received the news of the surrender of Sarragossa, after a defence of which history affords no example. Not a day passed without his making some fresh arrangements with the view of increasing the army which he intended to march into Germany, and which, as yet, only existed upon paper.

CHAPTER V.

Recall of the French who were serving in foreign countries—Motives for this determination—Situation of the army—Various measures—The Emperor crosses the Rhine—The ranger and his daughter—Arrival at the camp—Critical position of Davout—Berthier—Mission confided to the author—He succeeds in penetrating through the enemies' advanced posts—Defence of Ratisbon—Marshal Davout makes his movement—Situation in which the Emperor is placed.

THE Emperor sent off Marshal Berthier, in the month of March, for the purpose of collecting upon the Danube the different contingents furnished by the confederated princes. As for himself, business still detained him in Paris.

This was the period at which he issued a legislative enactment requiring all persons born Frenchmen, or those who had become so by the union of some new territory with France, to quit the military service of foreign powers. The Emperor noticed that in Prussia, as well as in Russia and in Austria, the major part of the officers of talent were Frenchmen; and he felt it to be very unbecoming, that whilst the mother-country was willing to receive back every citizen, the latter should carry to her enemies the fruits of the education which the institutions of his country had afforded him.

This measure was much cried down, although it only applied to military men, merchants and mechanics having always been at liberty to go wherever they thought proper. He sent to the depôts of the several regiments an order that all the men in a condition to perform the campaign should be posted off to Strasburg. His instructions were generally well attended to: men were sent from the depôts, and joined the army; but the military administration, both in France and at the camps, was almost barren of those men of comprehensive minds whose ge-

nius suggests to them the means of supplying the wants of the army. They had been distributed in the conquered countries; so that the army stood in need of many of those requisites, the providing of which had been left to the vigilance of those officers. The Emperor was obliged to fill up the void, and to unite in his own person the combinations of a general with the duties of a commissary.* The latter occupation is consi-

* Paris, 12th April, 1809.

"To the Prince of Neufchatel.

"My Cousin,

"I received your letters of the 8th. It appears to me the height of folly to send flour from Metz and Nancy to Donawert. This is the sure way of obtaining nothing, of oppressing the country with requisitions for transports, and incurring heavy expenses. I was wholly unprepared for such measures. It would have been much more simple to enter into contracts, in a country so abundant in corn as Germany: in twenty-four hours we might have been supplied with all the corn we stood in need of. You do not mention the arrival of the bakers and oven-builders which I ordered to be put in requisition at Metz, Strasburg, and Nancy. I regret your not writing on this point, which is one of great importance. Raise a company of Bavarian masons at Munich. I will bear the expense of them, as you know we can never have too many. I made a communication to you by telegraph yesterday morning, and wrote at noon by an estafet. On considering the documents before me, I am confirmed in the opinion that the enemy intends to commence hostilities between the 15th and 20th. I suppose the Duke of Rivoli will reach the Lech on the 15th, near Landsberg or Augsburg. I am very anxious to know the precise day on which the Duke of Auerstadt will arrive at Ratisbon with his army; and also when the light cavalry of General Montbrun, and the heavy artillery of General Nansouty, will reach Ratisbon, Munich, and the Lech, so as to be able to form upon the Lech in the event of the enemy assuming the offensive before we have made our preparations. I am no less anxious to learn your arrival at Augsburg. I imagine that the commissary whom I sent to Donawert will not, in consequence of the measures hitherto taken, be withheld from making contracts or requisitions for the corn and flour we stand in need of. I have dispatched Constantine, my aide-de-camp, to Inspruck: send him a courier, in order that he may furnish you with the route of the four thousand men who are coming from Italy, through the Tyrol, and that he may give you intelligence of what the enemy is doing in that quarter. Order General Moulin, who is at Strasburg, to proceed to Augsburg, and take the command of that town.

"I pray," &c.

"P. S.—You will not fail to tell Daru that I do not intend to draw from

dered as trifling; but its paramount importance is soon discovered by experience.

The Emperor disregarded the observations made to him on this subject: there was, besides, no help for it. He was taken by surprise, and had he not been personally on the spot, no army could ever have been formed out of the scanty materials he had at his command. The moment of setting it in motion occurred much earlier than he could have wished. It must be stated, in explanation of this, that the only French corps we had at this time in Germany was that of Marshal Davout, who had been ordered from the Duchy of Warsaw (where he was stationed), through Saxony and the neutral and confederated countries, to Ratisbon, on the borders of the Danube. The troops on the march from France formed the corps of Marshal Massena and of General Oudinot. The Bavarians furnished three fine divisions; the people of Wirtemburg and of Baden, a very strong division each; and another was formed out of the remaining troops of the petty princes of Germany.

The following were the orders issued by the Emperor to the Prince of Neufchatel on sending him to the army:—

"If the enemy should not attempt any movement, you will leave the troops in their present positions until my arrival: should they, however, commence hostilities, you will lose no time in forming the army behind the Lech."*

France any thing that can be procured in Germany. Let not the army be burdened with a heavy quantity of blankets, mattresses, or linen, which always entail an enormous expense, and are the cause of our standing in need of every thing else; whilst with the money laid out at Munich, Augsburg, and every other place on our road, we could be provided with every thing in abundance.

"NAPOLEON."

* "Paris, 10th April, 1809, at noon.

"To the Prince of Neufchatel.

"My Cousin,

"I communicated to you the following dispatch by telegraph. The intercepted correspondence addressed to M. de Metternich by his court, and his demand of passports, sufficiently attest that Austria is about to begin hostilities, if

He was in a state of perfect security in Paris, when a courier from the King of Bavaria came to announce to him that the Austrians had crossed the Inn (a river separating Austria from Bavaria), after having published a declaration setting forth that they were about to enter Bavaria, and having, I believe, summoned a small body of our troops to withdraw from that country.

The Emperor did not feel the least alarm, although the Austrian declaration came a little sooner than he could have

she has not already commenced them. I think it right that the Duke of Rivoli should repair to Augsburg with his corps; that the Wirtembergers should also repair to that town; and that you should proceed to it in person. By this means you will soon have a large body of troops at Augsburg. You will let the Duke of Dantzic be acquainted with these arrangements. The divisions of Saint Hilaire, Nansouty and Montbrun ought to have been at Ratisbon since the 6th of this month, and the Duke of Auerstadt has no doubt his head-quarters at Nuremberg. Give him intimation that, according to all appearances, the Austrians are about to commence the attack; and that if they should do so before the 15th, all the troops are to move towards the Lech. You will tell all this to the King of Bavaria in strict confidence. Write to the Prince of Ponte-Corvo that Austria is going to attack us; that if she has not yet done so, the language which she holds, and M. de Metternich's dispatches, prove that this event is at hand; that it would be well for the King of Saxony to withdraw to one of his country houses in the direction of Leipsic. Caution General Dupas, in order that he may be on his guard, and retire towards Augsburg, if the enemy should attack him before he has effected his movement. As the Austrians are very slow in their operations, it is possible they may not attack before the 15th; this would then be another case. I am myself on the point of departure. Under any circumstances no inconvenience could arise from the court of Bavaria being prepared to undertake a journey to Augsburg. Should the enemy not make any movement, there would still be no necessity for delaying the advance of the Duke of Rivoli to Augsburg; that of the Wirtemburg troops to Augsburg or Rain, as your own judgment may determine; and of the light cavalry, as well as the *divisions of Generals Nansouty and St. Hilaire*, to Landshut or Freysing, as the course of events may make it most advisable. The Duke of Auerstadt will have his head-quarters at Ratisbon, and his army will, under any circumstance whatever, take up a position at one day's march from the town. *If the enemy should not stir*, the Bavarians are also to remain quiet. With respect to Rouger's division, it will draw nearer to Donawert, if it should find it inconvenient to wait for Dupas' division.

"NAPOLEON."

wished. He sent a courier to St. Petersburg with an intimation that he was about to march, and urged his ambassador to neglect no means of turning to good account his alliance with that country. He also sent off to Italy to desire that preparations should be made for assuming the offensive; but the Austrians, as will hereafter be seen, were beforehand with the Viceroy who commanded our forces in that country. The Emperor, after having issued his final orders in Paris, took his departure the 11th April, 1809, and travelled on to Strasburg without stopping: he there called for some accounts, immediately crossed the Rhine, and proceeded to Kehl, in order to inspect the works which he had directed to be added to its fortifications,* and urged the engineers to use the utmost speed in completing them. From thence he went by way of Rastadt to Durlach, where he met the Prince and Princess of Baden, who had come to meet him on his way, for the purpose of paying their respects. He only stayed two hours in that town, and left it for Stutgard. The King of Wirtemburg sent as far as the frontier to receive him, and had him attended to Ludwigzburg, a summer residence, where the court of Wirtemburg was already established.

The Emperor only stopped there a night, having just been informed that the King of Bavaria had been compelled to retire from Munich with all his family, and was at Dillingen on the Danube, and that the Bavarian troops were in the direction of Abensberg, for the purpose of opening a communication with Marshal Davout, whom he thereby ascertained to be still at Ratisbon; for he imagined that he had already quitted it. He was unable to account for the marshal's being still there, or for the King of Bavaria's being obliged to quit his capital, both events being inconsistent with each

* Since he became protector of the confederation of the Rhine he had purchased from the Prince of Baden the territory upon which had been erected the old fortress of Kehl in the days of Louis XIV., and he ordered it to be built up anew. He had likewise given directions for constructing a tête de pont at Mentz.

other. He felt disappointed at these circumstances, and immediately departed to join the army. The Prince of Neufchatel had his head-quarters at Donawert, where the Emperor had directed them to be established.

On quitting Ludwigzburg we did not follow the road leading to Ulm, but the same that we had taken in 1805, and debouching from the mountains (where the Neckar has its source), we came to Dillingen. The Emperor had not stopped at any place since his departure from Ludwigzburg. He supped that night at the house of a ranger of the King of Wirtemburg, where a repast had been prepared by the grand-marshal's orders. The Emperor always made it a point to converse with the owner of every house at which he had to alight; he accordingly asked this ranger, a very worthy man, a variety of questions concerning his family, and learned that he had an only daughter, who was of age to marry, but that he had no fortune to give her. The Emperor bestowed upon this young lady a dowry suitable to her condition in life; and on that day dawned a prospect of happiness for her which will no doubt secure to her benefactor her lasting gratitude.

We arrived at Dillingen during the night, and alighted at the palace of the King of Bavaria, who had retired to rest, not being prepared for the Emperor's arrival. He rose to meet him, and after they had been for an hour in close conversation, we took our departure for Donawert. We found there the Prince of Neufchatel; but very shortly after our arrival the Emperor fell into a passion, which we were at a loss to account for: he was addressing Berthier in these words: "What you have done appears to me so extraordinary, that, if you were not my friend, I should suspect you of betraying me; for Davout is really situated at present much more for the convenience of the Archduke Charles than for mine."

This was actually the case: the Prince of Neufchatel had put a wrong construction upon the Emperor's order, and so

interpreted it as to expose us to the danger of a most serious disaster at the very commencement of the campaign.

It will be recollected that the Emperor wrote to him in the following terms: "If the enemy should commence hostilities, you will form the army behind the Lech."

This prince, however, had not considered as a commencement of hostilities the passage of the Inn, that of the Iser, and the occupation of one half of Bavaria by the Austrians (though indeed not a cannon had been fired): he had therefore left Marshal Davout's corps at Ratisbon, and the Bavarians at Abensberg.

The Emperor, who was already foreboding some disastrous event, proceeded immediately to Nieuburg, passed through Rein, where he had ordered a tête de pont to be erected on the Lech, and which was a rendezvous for the contingents of several German princes; stopped a moment at this place to examine the tête de pont, and continued his journey to Nieuburg, where he arrived with the divisions of cuirassiers which had remained in Germany. He received information the same night from Marshal Lefevre, to whom he had given the command of the Bavarian troops, that the communication between Marshal Davout and himself was intercepted, and that an officer of hussars had just arrived at his quarters with a picket, who had recently left the marshal's division cut off in the rear of Ratisbon. This officer having attempted to follow the high road with his picket, had been closely pursued to the very gates of Abensberg by some Austrian light-horse. This report filled the Emperor with alarm: he sent for me, and gave me the following order: "Read this report, which I have just received from Lefevre. You must positively contrive some means of penetrating to Marshal Davout, who has been left by Berthier at Ratisbon: this is what I desire him to do, regard, however, being had to the events that are taking place around him, respecting which my information may

not be sufficiently correct to enable me to give a positive order. If he could maintain his position at Ratisbon, and at the same time keep open his communication with me, until I am joined by Massena, Oudinot, and the other troops of the confederation, it would be a very material advantage, since, by continuing to occupy Ratisbon, he prevents the junction of the Austrian corps in Bohemia, under General Klenau's orders,* with the army of the Archduke Charles, thus giving me double the numbers of the latter, and enabling me to defeat him; especially if, as I have reason to expect, I succeed in cutting off his retreat towards the Inn: this therefore would be the most desirable course. But I apprehend Davout cannot wait for me: he will be attacked before I can go to his assistance: this is what creates my uneasiness. If he can retain Ratisbon, the ulterior consequences for the campaign would be incalculable; but if he cannot, let him break down the bridge so effectually as to prevent its being repaired, and then come to open a communication with me. By this manœuvre General Klenau's junction with the Archduke will be prevented, and time will tell the rest. But let him beware of running any risk, or of permitting his troops to come to any engagement previously to his joining me."

The Emperor was at Nieuburg when he sent me on this mission. I started immediately, and reached, by way of Ingolstadt, the head-quarters of Marshal Lefevre, where the Prince Royal of Bavaria, who commanded a division of his father's army, had likewise established himself. I asked the marshal to furnish me an escort for Ratisbon; and, by way of reply, he led me in advance of Abensberg, and showed me, in fact, the Austrian advanced posts, which were at gun-shot distance from Abensberg, on the high road to Ratisbon. I contrived, however, by means of a skirmish which the Prince Royal of Bavaria ordered to be made, and with the assistance

* Klenau's corps amounted to forty thousand men.

of a detachment of fifty light-horsemen of his own regiment, which were intended for my escort, to plunge to the left into the woods which line the bank of the Danube. I then allowed the horses a moment's rest, and trusting myself to the guidance of one of the Bavarian light-horsemen, who was a native of those parts, I debouched just at the entrance of the plain which is on the borders of the Danube, between the wood through which we had been penetrating and the small town of Abach, on the high road, and at the distance of two German miles from Ratisbon.

Previously to issuing from the wood, I heard a firing, which made me apprehend some obstacles on the other side of it. In fact, one of the light-horsemen who had been sent forward, came back to tell me that pickets of cavalry were seen firing in the plain, in front of Abach. I hastened to the spot, and saw troops engaged against each other, without its being possible to distinguish which was our own party. I had to wait a long half hour in this state of uncertainty before I could discover any result to the skirmish; and I then saw hussars in a white uniform, who were debouching from Abach. As the Austrians had not any cavalry dressed in that colour, I considered that the party could only belong to our 5th regiment, which I knew to be with Marshal Davout's division.

I ran up to them, and found I was not mistaken; but they could give me no tidings of Marshal Davout, and I was compelled to continue my journey to Ratisbon. I found there the 65th regiment of infantry, commanded by Colonel Coutard, a man of first-rate military talent, as will presently be seen.

He informed me that Marshal Davout had left that very morning with his whole army, in consequence of its being reported to him that the Archduke was manœuvring to turn his right; that every effort had been made to destroy the bridge; but the masonry work resisted every attempt to break

it down:* it had therefore been found necessary to give up the idea; so that the marshal, fearing to resign that passage across the river to the Austrian corps under M. de Klenau, who would have advanced immediately to attack him, had left this colonel with his regiment in Ratisbon for the express object of defending the bridge.

The whole town is on the left bank, and surrounded with a good ditch and a Roman wall, but of far too great an extent to be defended by a single regiment. Besides, as the army was manœuvring on the right bank of the Danube, it did not appear likely that the attack would be made in that direction.

The colonel had made admirable arrangements for defending his bridge and disposing of his regiment in the most advantageous manner. I remained two hours with him for the purpose of explaining the Emperor's intentions, which it devolved upon him to carry into effect, since Marshal Davout had forestalled them in as far as related to his division. The roar of cannon was beginning to be heard in the distance. I proceeded in the direction from whence it proceeded, and soon found Marshal Davout's corps engaged with the whole army of the Archduke Charles. The battle was taking place on the heights of Abach, a league to the right of the road from Abach to Ratisbon, at a village the name of which is Tancreberg, to the best of my recollection. I joined him on the field of battle, at the moment when he had just gained an advantage, and acquainted him with the Emperor's arrival at the army, and with the commission he had charged me to deliver to him. The marshal had already, by his manœuvres, anticipated the Emperor's wishes, though indeed he had not in-

* The bridge of Ratisbon is the only stone bridge on the Danube from Ulm, where the river is not of any great width, to the sea. It is of Roman origin, and is constructed of gray freestone and thin bricks, bound together with Pouzolano cement. This monument will stand the ravages of time.

tended making any movement on his right, not being aware of the Emperor's arrival: he intended, on the contrary, to keep within a short distance of Ratisbon, as much with the view of affording assistance to the troops he had left there, as to prevent General Klenau's junction with the Archduke Charles.

But the Emperor contemplated to derive a still farther advantage from that corps of troops. Marshal Davout, therefore, immediately made the necessary arrangements. He first sent musket cartridges to the regiment stationed in Ratisbon. The road had, unfortunately, been intercepted, and the ammunition was taken. This small accident, which appears a mere trifle, was attended with very fatal consequences, as will presently be seen.

Marshal Davout made his army advance by the right flank, with Morand and Gudin's divisions, and another of cuirassiers leading the way, and brought himself into communication with the Bavarians the same night, by taking up a position within gun-shot of Abensberg. I had returned with my detachment of Bavarian light-horse by the same road which I had taken in the morning; and, starting from Marshal Lefevre's head-quarters, I rejoined the Emperor at Ingolstadt during the night. He was stretched on a wooden bench, his feet close to a heated stove, and his head reclining on a soldier's knapsack, with a map spread open by his side. Marshal Duroc was the only person in the room with him.

The Emperor was expecting news from Marshal Davout with the utmost impatience. He had received all kinds of reports respecting the firing which had been heard during the whole morning, and never thought it possible I could come up with the marshal.

He began by scolding me for having embarked in what he called that wild freak. The truth is, he was greatly delighted to receive intelligence of Marshal Davout; so much so, that

I had hardly finished relating what I had seen, when he mounted his horse, darted at full gallop through all the troops of the confederation, and came to Abensberg.

CHAPTER VI.

The army commences operations—The Prince Royal of Bavaria—Distribution of the Austrian forces—Engagement of Abensberg —Taking of Landshut—Battle of Eckmuhl—Massena —Taking of Ratisbon—Prince Charles succeeds in effecting his escape.

THE Emperor, according to his usual practice, commenced his visit by the bivouacs of the troops, which, from right to left, soon saw and recognised him: from that moment no soldier entertained any doubt of the result of the campaign. He immediately ordered the Bavarian army to be placed under arms, and formed it in front of Abensberg. His suite and escort were entirely composed of Bavarian officers and soldiers: the Prince Royal of Bavaria stood, at that moment, by his side. "Well, Prince Royal," said the Emperor, tapping him on the shoulder, "if you uphold in this manner the dignity of the King of Bavaria, when it may come to your turn, these gentlemen will never desert you. If, on the contrary, you should remain at home, they will all follow your example and withdraw: from that moment you may bid farewell to your kingdom and to glory."

The Bavarian officers who spoke French repeated these words in German: they passed from mouth to mouth amongst the Bavarian soldiers, who, like those of every other nation, have a shrewd conception of truth.

The two divisions of Generals Gudin and Morand being in readiness, the Emperor formed them into a temporary corps, of which he gave the command to Marshal Lannes, who had

arrived from Sarragossa one or two days before. He added to this corps a brigade of horse chasseurs, with the division of cuirassiers under the orders of General Saint Sulpice. The Bavarians, that is to say, the two divisions of the Prince Royal and of General Deroy, advanced with Marshal Lefevre in the rear of what remained of the corps of Marshal Davout, who had still the command of the two divisions of Generals Friant and Saint Hilaire.

The Bavarian division of General Wrede being more to the right, it followed the direction of the corps of Marshal Lannes. From this day are to be dated the manœuvres of the Emperor, which were attended with such brilliant results.

The Austrians had opened the campaign with four armies; one in Italy, under the Archduke John; a second in Galicia, under the Archduke Ferdinand; a third in Bohemia, under General Klenau; and the grand army, under the Archduke Charles, in Bavaria; a small corps detached to support the Tyrolese insurgents was under the orders of M. de Bellegarde.

The grand army under the Archduke Charles had taken the line of operations through Vienna, Wells, and Braunaw, and had crossed the Iser at Landshut, from whence it had detached a corps of some strength towards Abensberg; the Archduke had then followed the road to Ratisbon with the whole of his army, for the purpose of attacking Marshal Davout. In the rear of the Archduke's army was the reserve of grenadier guards, commanded by Prince John of Lichtenstein, then the pontoon train, &c. &c. Independently of the regular troops, the landwehr (the national guard) had been raised and equipped, by which means the *personnel* of the troops was immense.

The Archduke's movement upon Ratisbon was made with the intention of rallying the army in Bohemia; and if he could have succeeded in taking possession of the town, which forms a protection to the bridge, he would have rendered it

the centre of all the operations and events of the campaign, and thereby sheltered Vienna from any attack. Whilst the Archduke was prepared to execute that part of his plan of operations, the Emperor ordered an attack and close pursuit of the Austrian corps which had advanced from Landshut in the direction of Abensberg: it was driven in and put to complete rout; night alone saved it from being compelled that day to surrender. The pursuit was continued at a very early hour the next morning; and we entered the town of Landshut pell-mell with the fugitives. They attempted to defend the bridge: a sharp firing was kept up across the Iser, and the bridge would have been infallibly burnt before our eyes had not General Mouton, an aide-de-camp of the Emperor, carried it by main force with a battalion of the 57th regiment.

A large quantity of heavy baggage and artillery, bridges of boats, an immense *materiel* in short, were captured at Landshut.

We, however, ascertained there that all the reserve of grenadiers, under the orders of Prince John of Lichtenstein, had left Landshut for Ratisbon two days before, so that the whole army of the Archduke Charles was now united, and in a condition to act. As it was much stronger than the army of Marshal Davout, the latter was placed in imminent danger. The Emperor was fortunately overtaken at Landshut by Marshal Massena,* to whom he had written these flat-

* Letter from Napoleon to Marshal Massena.

"Donawert, 18th April, 1809.

"My Cousin,

"I am this moment in the receipt of your letter. The division you have at Landsberg and the four regiments of light cavalry must use all speed to reach Aicha, or at least make as much progress as they can on the road from Augsburg to Aicha; but it is absolutely necessary that General Oudinot with his corps and your other three divisions, your cuirassiers, and whatever cavalry you may have besides, should reach Pfafenhoffen at night. In one word I will explain every thing to you. Prince Charles debouched yesterday from Landshut towards Ratisbon

tering words: "*Activity, activity—quickness: I rely upon you.*" The marshal, whose zeal was excited by these words, had accelerated his movement, and arrived on the field of battle just at the close of the action. Neither he nor General Oudinot brought any other troops than young recruits: nevertheless, they proved a valuable reinforcement. Both generals had come from Augsburg.

with his whole army: he had three corps, estimated together at eighty thousand men. The Bavarians have fought the entire day with his advanced-guard, between Siegenburg and the Danube. Nevertheless, the Duke of Auerstadt, who has sixty thousand Frenchmen under his orders, moves this day, the 18th, from Ratisbon towards Neustadt: he will therefore act in concert with the Bavarians against Prince Charles. Whatever portion of your corps shall have arrived by to-morrow, the 19th, at Pfafenhoffen, together with the Wirtemburgers, a division of cuirassiers, and any troops that can be collected, may commence operations, whether by falling upon Prince Charles's rear, or upon the column of Freysing and of Mauburg, and finally return into line. Every thing leads me to think that all the affairs of Germany will be decided between the 18th, 19th, and 20th. It is possible that the Bavarian army may continue to fight to-day, the 18th, without any material result, since it always gains ground, and the hostile army is therefore much harassed and retarded in its march. The Duke of Auerstadt is apprised of every thing; and General Wrede sends him all his prisoners. Some musket-shots may be fired to-day. There was only a distance of nine leagues between Ratisbon and the place where Prince Charles was stationed. No important action can therefore take place before the 19th; and you now see at a glance that no circumstance could have brought about a more rapid or a more active movement. There is no doubt that the Duke of Auerstadt, who has nearly sixty thousand men under his orders, may, if hard pressed, come out of this business with flying colours; but I consider the enemy as lost if Oudinot and your three divisions shall have debouched before day-light, and if, at a moment of such great importance, you impress upon my troops the necessity of making powerful exertions. Send patroles of cavalry to a great distance. It appears that the Austrians have at Munich, and in that direction, a corps of twelve thousand men. Your movement is one of such great importance that I may possibly go in person to join your corps. Your cavalry which was stationed at Wachau may proceed to rejoin you at Pfafenhoffen. With regard to the general who is at Landsberg, his corps forms our rear-guard, at a distance of six or seven leagues from us. This plan may be useful, and cannot be attended with any inconvenience. He can always, in a case of necessity, join us on the second or third day. In short, the four regiments of light cavalry can come up with the head of your corps the day after to-morrow at latest.

"I pray, &c."

The Wirtemburgers had also arrived. The Emperor passed the day at Landshut, and kept asking questions of every one he fell in with. He was impatient at the non-arrival of his secretaries and of the *materiel* of his closet. He had come from Paris with such rapidity, that nothing had been sent with him: he lived like a common soldier, and scarcely had a change of linen. The only saddle-horses he rode had been lent to him by the King of Bavaria, his own being still at a very great distance in the rear, not having yet reached Strasburg.

The Emperor's mode of judging the Austrians was so accurate, that he never failed to arrive at the exact moment appointed for any movement against them. He calculated that no time was to be lost in manœuvring against the Archduke Charles, who would no sooner find his line of operations towards Landshut cut off, than he would redouble his exertions either to compel Ratisbon to surrender, or to crush the corps of Marshal Davout.

Guided by this opinion, he determined to leave behind him a small corps only, of which he confided the command to Marshal Bessieres (Duke of Istria); because the guard which was coming from Spain by forced marches was expected to reach Landshut in a few days. Marshal Bessieres had the chief command of it in advance of Landshut, for the purpose of watching the Austrian corps commanded by General Hiller, who had just been dislodged from his position. With the remainder of the army the Emperor took the road to Ratisbon, on the day following that of his departure from Abensberg for Landshut.

Shortly before arriving at Eckmuhl, a distance of five leagues from Ratisbon, we came up with the outposts of the left wing of the Archduke Charles's army, which rested upon the village of Eckmuhl, with its front protected by a small river called the Laber.

The Emperor only took time to reconnoitre the enemy

whilst the troops were forming as they arrived on the banks of the river. Marshal Davout was at the same moment placing himself in communication with us by taking up a position in line with our left: he had been for seventy-two hours in a dreadful situation, ever since the day of my conveying to him the Emperor's orders, and of his separating from the divisions of Generals Gudin and Morand. He had certainly with him Marshal Lefevre and two Bavarian divisions; nevertheless, he was exposed to be taken prisoner from one moment to another.

No time was lost in manœuvring; the attack was instantly made, by extending our line beyond the enemy's left. They had flanked the village of Eckmuhl with a numerous artillery, the village itself being filled with infantry. The infantry on our right was ordered to cross the river by means of a quantity of mills and other works which line the stream, and generally afforded facilities for effecting such an operation.

This movement was sufficient to throw into disorder the infantry stationed in the village of Eckmuhl; and the Emperor sent me at the same time with an order for General Saint Sulpice to form his troops into a column by divisions, and force the passage of Eckmuhl, so as to carry off the whole Austrian artillery which flanked the village.

General Saint Sulpice had to sustain in his advance, from a distance of 200 toises, a heavy fire of artillery, which would have done him considerable injury had he not led his cavalry on at a very rapid rate. His first squadron necessarily suffered, but the others escaped unhurt: he carried off the whole of the enemy's artillery, and forced their cavalry back to a great distance, without allowing it to recover the smallest advantage during the remainder of the day. The officer who commanded his first brigade, and who as such was at the head of the column, was General Clement: he ran every risk of his life, and yet escaped with only the

loss of an arm. M. de Berkeim was the colonel of the regiment of cuirassiers forming the head of the column.

The Emperor was well pleased with the boldness of that movement, which enabled the whole army to debouch by the village of Eckmuhl. The rest of the afternoon was consumed in manœuvring, in order to extend our lines beyond all the positions which the enemy successively took up in their retreat.

It was no longer possible for the Austrians to avoid a general engagement. The Emperor wished either to compel them to it, or to make them recross the Danube, if they had the command of any bridge, a point which was not yet ascertained. They were as closely pursued as possible, and our cavalry was ordered to keep charging them until night, and up to the very plains of Ratisbon.

A battle on the following day was unavoidable; we fully calculated upon it when we learned by the prisoners made in the course of the day, that the town of Ratisbon had surrendered by capitulation two days before, and that the 65th regiment had been made prisoners, and taken to Bohemia.

Whether the Archduke Charles offered us battle, with numbers considerably augmented by the corps of General Klenau, or whether he declined it from the facility which the bridge of Ratisbon afforded him to effect his retreat, and from the probability of our being long detained before the walls of that city, which was capable of being well defended; in either case the above intelligence deranged our plans. We came as near to the town as we could; and that night, 22nd of April (the eleventh day since his departure from Paris), the Emperor established his head-quarters in a palace which the Archduke Charles had occupied during the whole day: it was indeed only at a late hour in the afternoon that the Archduke gave up the idea of passing another night there, since we supped off the dishes which had been prepared for himself and his suite.

That movement led us to apprehend his having adopted

the determination to retreat. The Emperor, according to his invariable practice, would not retire to rest until he had ascertained where each division of his army had been able to settle after the march and fatigues they had just encountered; and he ordered the troops to be in readiness to move the next morning at break of day, if the enemy retained his position.

As very few lighted fires were seen during the night, it was imagined they were moving; and the next morning, in fact, we could only discover their cavalry, with some pieces of artillery, in the plain: they were immediately attacked, and, after two charges of cuirassiers, they were so completely thrown back upon the town, that their cannon could not all enter it. They abandoned them accordingly, after unharnessing the horses, which they carried away, and precipitately closed the gates, for fear of our penetrating with them into the town.

We discovered in making these two charges, that besides the bridge of Ratisbon, they had thrown a bridge of boats below the stone bridge; and the whole of the enemy's cavalry retreated by this bridge.

The town was still encumbered with horse and foot soldiers, and was accordingly defended the whole day; it therefore became necessary to wait the arrival of our columns of infantry previously to commencing the attack.

I have already mentioned that Ratisbon is surrounded by a wall supporting a raised way, having its gates flanked with towers. The Austrians had lined every part with infantry, which rendered any approach to the wall a dangerous attempt, and prevented the gates from being forced open, without having recourse to artillery. But we were all so much exhausted with fatigue, the Emperor amongst the rest, that every one was falling asleep, and no orders that might have been given could have been properly carried into effect.

Bavarian twelve-pounders were, however, brought so closely to bear, that in less than two hours they demolished a large portion of the wall which encloses the town.

CHAPTER VII.

Attack made upon Ratisbon—The Emperor receives a wound—Consternation of the soldiers—Colonel Coutard—The Emperor pursues the enemy—Affairs of Italy—General Cohorn—Battle of Ebersberg—Horrid appearance of the field of battle—Expressions of the Emperor—Arrival at St. Polten.

THE Emperor was all impatience to enter Ratisbon. He rose from the cloak upon which he was stretched, and ordered the attack: at this moment he was standing near Marshal Lannes, and in the act of calling the Prince of Neufchatel, when a musket ball, fired from the wall of the town, struck him on the toe of the left foot: although it did not penetrate the boot, it nevertheless inflicted a very painful wound, the injured part being a nerve, which was considerably swollen from heated boots, which he had not taken off for the last several days. I was present at the accident. His surgeon, M. Yvan, was immediately sent for, who dressed the wound before us, and before all the soldiers who happened to be near at the time: the more they were ordered to keep off, the nearer they approached. This accident was reported from mouth to mouth; all the soldiers from the first to the third line hurried forward. A moment of confusion ensued, which was nothing more than a consequence of the attachment the troops bore him. As soon as the wound was dressed, he was under the necessity of mounting his horse, and showing himself to the troops. His sufferings were so acute as to compel his being helped to his seat in the saddle. Had the ball struck the instep, instead of the toe, it must have penetrated the

foot. His lucky star was again true to him on this occasion. When this little accident had passed away, preparations were made for an assault, the opening effected in the wall being found adequate to that purpose. There was, moreover, discovered at the bottom of the ditch a small garden-gate, affording a communication with the town, which was also taken advantage of: a descent was made from the two ditches by means of ladders, and the town entered by the opening in the wall and by the garden-gate.

Whilst this attack was going on, the artillery battered those parts of the wall and of the town from whence the Austrians kept up a fire of musketry; and the Bavarian artillery particularly distinguished itself.

The attack was completely successful; Ratisbon was entered, and a great number of Austrian soldiers taken prisoners, who were still in the streets, or even lining the ramparts, as well as the reserves which were destined to support them, and were unable to retreat to the bridge on the Danube. Some troops were immediately sent across in order to follow up the Austrians; but the rest of the army instantly took the road to Straubing. The Emperor established his head-quarters at Ratisbon, where he remained a few days to plan another operation, and to allow the army time to gain ground, whilst he was recovering from his wound.

We found at Ratisbon the colonel of the 65th regiment, who had escaped being carried off a prisoner by concealing himself until the arrival of our troops. He informed us that in the afternoon of the day on which Marshal Davout had left the heights in front of the town, he had been attacked at the bridge of the Danube by the corps of M. de St. Siran, whose attempts on that and the following day to force a passage had been so completely frustrated, that he, the colonel of the 65th regiment, had driven him back with a loss of 800 prisoners; but that nearly all his ammunition was consumed, and he was under the necessity of distributing the cartridges

found in the cartouch boxes of the prisoners and the slain. He would, nevertheless, have succeeded in defending the bridge against General Klenau, had it not been for the reserve of grenadiers commanded by Prince John of Lichtenstein, who arrived from Landshut by the road of Eckmuhl, and threatened to scale the walls, and put his men to the sword, if he did not immediately capitulate. Resistance was out of the question, since he had not sufficient troops to line a fourth part of the walls. After his successful defence of the bridge he was compelled to submit, much against his will, to conditions equally harsh and unmerited, his gallant resistance having rendered him worthy of a better fate.

This happened at Ratisbon less than seventy-two hours before the Emperor's arrival with his whole army. The result would probably have been very different had it been in the power of Marshal Davout to leave a whole brigade in Ratisbon with a sufficiency of ammunition, instead of a single regiment. The town might then have been defended as effectually as the bridge, and the Archduke Charles would have been cut off from his only means of retreat.

It is not likely that he would have fought a battle, when he had not yet been joined by M. de Klenau's corps, since he thought proper to avoid it after this general had effected a junction with him. He could not have thrown a bridge of boats across the Danube under the walls of Ratisbon; and even if he had, it might have been easily destroyed by sending rafts loaded with stones down the stream. No argument can well be founded upon what did not come to pass; but unless the Archduke Charles could have succeeded in forcing his way through our ranks, he would have been driven to the bitterest of alternatives for the commander of an army. History would be consulted in vain for the parallel to so bold a manœuvre, prepared at a distance, intended to be executed at a stated time, and actually carried into effect within twelve

days of the Emperor's departure from Paris, by means of an army of soldiers one half of whom were working with their mattock at field-labours a month before, and were quite bewildered at the novel task now imposed upon them.

That operation ranks as a chef-d'œuvre amongst the immortal achievements of the Emperor.

I have just said that he ordered the army to march by Straubing, Scharding, and Etturding. It was actually at a less distance from Vienna than the Archduke Charles, and not a bush was met on the road until we reached the river Traun on the other side of Lintz.

The Emperor returned from Ratisbon to Landshut, where he found that the whole of the horse and foot-guards had arrived from Spain. He instantly marched from Landshut to Muhldorf, passed the Iser, and proceeded as far as Burckhausen on the Salza. He had caused the Bavarian division of General Wrede to march on his right for the purpose of forcing back the Austrian corps of General Bellegarde, which was stationed in the province of Saltzburg, being anxious to prevent its throwing itself into Vienna, by compelling it to perform a great circuit of a circle, of which General Wrede's division would march along the chord. This operation completely succeeded. The Austrian corps was unable to reach Vienna, and was forced to descend the country a considerable distance before it could approach the Danube.

We found every bridge burned on our way, and were detained a long time in repairing them; fortunately, however, wood is very abundant in those countries; otherwise the difficulties we encountered would have been of much more serious injury to us: the Austrian pontoon trains captured at Landshut greatly assisted us in surmounting them.

The Austrian general, Hiller, who commanded the corps which was retreating before us from the moment we reached the banks of the Iser, always found time to take up a position,

and his corps was completely recruited in strength whenever we came up with it, and gained upon us in its retreat as often as we had to repair a bridge.

During the Emperor's sojourn of forty-eight hours at Landshut, previously to his advancing upon Vienna, he received from the Viceroy of Italy the unpleasant intelligence that the Austrians had gained signal advantages over him at the opening of the campaign. He had at first crossed the Adige, and was marching to meet the enemy, who were posted on the Tagliamento, when he was attacked at Sacile, where he suffered a loss which compelled him to retire behind the Piava.

The Austrians could not follow up their success, because they were almost immediately informed of the Emperor's marching upon Vienna, a movement which compelled them to evacuate the whole of Italy; so that the Viceroy's army was not long in resuming the offensive, and obtained uninterrupted successes during the remainder of the campaign.

Great difficulty was found in repairing the bridges over the Salza; but all lost time was regained by the completion of two bridges—the town bridge which we repaired, and the bridge of boats which was thrown across the river. It was apprehended that we should be detained at Braunaw; but we discovered, to our great satisfaction, that the fortifications had been destroyed by the enemy since the breaking out of the war; we therefore reached Wells upon the Traun without stopping, and at the moment of the arrival at the same river, by way of Lintz, of the army which had passed through Scharding. Ebersberg was the point where it was to cross over. The river is here divided into several branches; in consequence of which a bridge has been constructed of a length equal to the breadth of the largest rivers, and extremely narrow. To add to our disappointment, the Austrian, or right bank, was so elevated as to enable our being discovered from a considerable distance, even long before we could approach the entrance of the bridge on the left bank.

As we debouched from Lintz to approach the river Marshal Massena was at the head of the column.

The Emperor had remained at Wells to watch the result of the attempt to force the passage of Ebersberg, as, in case of failure, he would have made the army debouch by Wells, and march towards the Ems (which runs in the same direction as the Traun to a few leagues beyond Vienna). Unfortunately, however, it was not found necessary to resort to this movement. Marshal Massena succeeded in forcing the bridge of Ebersberg, where a feat of arms was performed which may be reckoned as one of the most signal acts of extravagant courage to be found in the annals of military history.

The division had amongst its officers a General Cohorn, descended from the celebrated engineer of that name, who, placing himself at the head of his brigade, passed at a brisk pace the whole length of the bridge, under the fire of six pieces of cannon stationed at the extremity of it, and of a shower of musketry and grape-shot, which were pointed against him from several elevated points on the opposite side, and made dreadful havoc as he approached the right bank. The natural difficulty of his position was enough to strike terror into any man; but nothing could intimidate that gallant officer, whose mind appeared steeled against danger. He succeeded in reaching the opposite bank. The enemy had not had time to set fire to the bridge; they had merely removed some beams near the gate of the town; but General Cohorn penetrated in every direction, and reached the very heart of the town of Ebersberg, driving before him the troops which had disputed the passage of the bridge.

The enemy rallied in the plain at a few hundred toises beyond the town; and Cohorn, unrestrained in his ardour, advanced to attack them, instead of laying in ambush in the hedges and gardens which surrounded the town on the side facing the country, and waiting in that position until Marshal Massena had sent across a sufficient number of men to support

him. He paid dearly for his rashness; he was routed and driven back to the very gate of Ebersberg: the troops no longer kept their ranks; each soldier took what he conceived to be the shortest road; but the company that mounted guard at the town-gate conceived the idea of shutting it in order to check the retreat, and save the bridge from being destroyed.

This was judiciously done; but the operation proved fatal to Cohorn's brigade, which, having entered a deep hollow road, could not bring its musketry to bear, and in this situation was exposed for some minutes to a raking fire, until extricated by the troops sent across by Marshal Massena, which moved to the left of the town, and fell upon the rear of those which were so severely handling it. But for this movement the brigade would infallibly have been destroyed.

The Austrians fired, in their retreat, upon the orchards of Ebersberg, of which our troops were taking possession, and thus set fire to the town: it was completely reduced to ashes, and the wounded who had taken shelter in it were unfortunately burned to death. We found two or three still alive in the middle of the square, where the flames could not reach them; but the streets and houses presented the most hideous picture of the evils entailed upon humanity by the falling out of monarchs: no love of glory can plead any justification of such a massacre. The picture will be complete when we relate that the conflagration had hardly ceased when it was found necessary to send across, at first the cuirassiers, and afterwards the artillery, who had to pass through the town on the road to Vienna. Can any thing be more dreadful than the sight of men, first burned to death, then trodden under the horses' feet, and crushed to atoms by the wheels of the gun-carriages. The only outlet from the town by the gate where General Cohorn had lost so many men, was by walking through a heap of baked human flesh, which produced an insufferable stench. The evil was so great, that it became necessary to

procure spades, such as are used for clearing the mud from public roads, in order to remove and bury this fœtid mass.

The Emperor came to see this horrid sight, and said to us, as he went over it, "It were well if all promoters of wars could behold such an appalling picture; they would then discover how many evils humanity has to suffer from their projects."

Cohorn had with him a regiment of light infantry, composed of Corsicans, which was at the head of the column during his attack. The Emperor passed close by, and addressed them in Italian, in order to discover if their spirits were not broken down by their recent loss: "We have men enough left for two such attacks," was the reply of one of the soldiers to his question.

He then spoke some obliging words to General Cohorn on the feat of gallantry he had displayed, but pointed out to him, that if he had not suffered himself to be hurried along by his courage, but had waited for the troops that were coming up, previously to making the attack, this heavy loss would have been spared; nevertheless, Cohorn ever after obtained with him the credit of being a man of undaunted bravery.

The army immediately resumed its march, and arrived at Ems at an early hour. This town is on the left bank of the river of the same name, is yet strongly fortified, and has a wooden bridge, to which General Hiller had also set fire. We were detained there two days for the purpose of repairing it, and of throwing a bridge of boats across. After passing the Salza at Burckhausen, where the bridge upon piles was made use of, the Austrian pontoons which had served for the construction of the bridge of boats were replaced on the carts, and by their means a bridge was thrown over the Ems, with the addition of a few boats which were found on the banks of the Danube, near the mouth of the Ems, which is less than a league's distance from it.

The army was thus made to pass upon two bridges at the

same moment, and the lost time was recovered which the reconstruction of so many bridges had necessarily taken from the march.

On leaving Ems, a small town, five leagues distant from Lintz, the Emperor proceeded to Melck without stopping: he took up his quarters at the house attached to the abbey, and remained there a whole day, for the twofold purpose of allowing the troops to come up, and of enabling those to gain ground which had already passed that town.

From Melck he went to Saint Polten, where he learned that the corps of General Hiller had, for the most part at least, taken the road to Krems. He stopped at Saint Polten to see the result of that movement, and if it was not connected with the arrival of the Archduke Charles's army, though he could hardly suppose it to have reached so far, since it had had a longer march to perform and very bad roads to pass through.

The Emperor selected me to watch the movement upon Krems. He sent me on from Saint Polten with a brigade of cuirassiers, a company of horse artillery, and a regiment of infantry.

I went to take post at Mautern, where I learned that the troops of General Hiller had actually crossed the Danube on the preceding day by means of a new bridge, which had been built since the last war. Great, however, was my astonishment at finding that General Hiller had not set fire to it, but merely removed the broad planks of two arches on our side: the beams had even been left; so that two hours' labour would have sufficed for a company of workmen to repair the bridge, which they might have done with the greater facility, as, from the nature of the ground, a firing kept up on the left bank would have protected it from the firing of the opposite one.

The people of the spot at which I had stationed myself, and who had gone to Krems (on the opposite bank) on the preceding day, brought me word that the Archduke Charles

was expected there in a few days, and I had no doubt that the bridge of Krems had only been preserved to facilitate his crossing the river on his arrival, and thereby afford him the means of covering Vienna. I sent one of my aides-de-camp to report this news to the Emperor, who was still at Saint Polten. He sent that officer back immediately to me with orders to burn the bridge and join him at Vienna. I directed a few cannon-shot to be fired at the posts on the opposite side, and put my troops under arms. The enemy thought I was going to attempt the passage, and they themselves set fire to the bridge, which was so completely consumed in a few hours, that not a trace of it was left. They had probably foreseen this contingency, and made arrangements beforehand for destroying the bridge.

When this operation was over, I again set my troops in motion for Vienna, where I arrived the next day.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Emperor at Schönbrunn—Siege of Vienna—Passage of one arm of the Danube—Bombardment—Capitulation—Position of the contending armies—Passage of the Danube in the night-time—The author is present at the first landing—Construction of bridges—The army crosses the river.

THE Emperor now occupied for the second time the palace of Schönbrunn, where his head-quarters had been established in 1805. He had caused the suburbs to be occupied; but the city had closed its gates, and a few shot had even been fired from the ramparts.

The Archduke Maximilian had shut himself up in Vienna; but it contained no other troops than a few depôts and the townspeople, amongst whom the muskets found in the arsenal had been distributed.

Vienna is enclosed by a strong wall of a regular and modern construction, by ditches of great depth, and by a covered way, but is without any advanced works. It has a very open glacis, and the suburbs are built at the distance required by military regulations. The suburbs are very extensive; and since the invasion of the Turks they have been surrounded by an intrenchment covered over with masonry work, thereby forming a vast intrenched camp, closed by strong gates, and proof against any attempt to scale it. The Emperor saw, that if Vienna did not surrender in a few days, the Archduke Charles would arrive, and that nothing would prevent his introducing his army into that spacious extent of suburbs, from whence it would debouch upon us from several points at the same time, and place us in a situation the more perilous, as the Emperor had relied upon the resources he expected to find in Vienna, and of which he intended to avail himself to increase his means of subsistence. He made the round of that immense enclosure, and before returning to his palace, ordered the general of artillery, Andreossi, who was in attendance, and who had formerly been our ambassador at Vienna, to bring together that night all the howitzers that were with the army, and place them in the most judicious manner, in order to open at ten o'clock at night a bombarding fire, which was to be kept up until the city should demand a parley. He sent at the same time to summon the Archduke to surrender the city.* The reply of that prince was unsatisfactory.

* Letter from the Major-General to the Archduke Maximilian.

"10th May, 1809.

"Monseigneur,

"The Duke of Montebello sent this morning to your Highness an officer in the character of a flag of truce, with a trumpeter. That officer has not yet returned. I request to be informed when it is intended to send him back. The unusual course adopted on this occasion compels me to avail myself of the inhabitants of the city for holding communication with your Highness. His Majesty the Emperor and King, my master, having been brought to Vienna by the events of the war,

General Andreossi carried into effect the orders he had received; and collected, to the best of my memory, thirty-two howitzers, which were stationed on a spot reconnoitred beforehand, and where, from a very short distance, the howitzers might range along the greatest width of the city.

Independently of this arrangement, the Emperor went in person, with one of the divisions belonging to Massena's corps, to effect at the extremity of the public walk of the Prater the passage of the arm of the Danube which separates this island from the main-land. The spot was defended by some troops of the militia, who were kept off with cannon-shot, and by means of boats brought over to us by people who

is desirous of sparing the numerous and interesting population of that capital from the calamities which threaten it. He directs me to represent to your Highness that, by persisting to defend the place, your Highness will cause the destruction of one of the finest cities in Europe, and expose to the miseries of war a multitude of people, whose condition, their age and sex, ought effectually to protect them from the evils which war necessarily occasions.

"The Emperor, my master, has always manifested in every country where he has been brought by the events of war, his anxiety to save unarmed populations from such calamities. Your Highness cannot but be persuaded that his Majesty is deeply affected at contemplating the approaching ruin of that great city, which he claims it as one of his titles to glory to have saved on a former occasion. Nevertheless, contrary to the practice adopted in all fortified towns, your Highness has had guns fired in the direction of the suburbs, and the shot might have killed, not an enemy of your sovereign, but the wife or child of one of his most devoted subjects. I do myself the honour to submit to your Highness, that during the whole day the Emperor has refused to allow any troops to enter the suburbs, and merely had the gates occupied, and sent patroles round for the purpose of maintaining good order. But if your Highness persists in attempting to defend the place, his Majesty will be compelled to make his preparations for an attack, and the ruin of this capital will be accomplished in thirty-six hours by the fire of the howitzers and bombs of our batteries, at the same time that the exterior town must likewise be destroyed by the fire from your own batteries. His Majesty is persuaded that these considerations will have their influence, and induce your Highness to renounce an attempt which could only delay for a few moments the taking of the city. I beg to be made acquainted with your Highness' final resolution.

"(Signed) ALEXANDER BERTHIER."

swam to the opposite bank.* The troops first passed over, and a bridge was then constructed. From this moment we were at liberty to set fire to the great bridge named the bridge of the Tabor, because nothing could obstruct our reaching it.

The Emperor ordered General Boudet's division to cross over to the island of the Prater; and he was returning in the night-time to his head-quarters at Schönbrunn, when, passing abreast of the suburbs of Vienna, we saw the first discharge from the howitzers, which had the appearance of a cluster of fire. There were always ten or twelve shells in the air; and the fire accordingly broke out almost instantaneously in several places. This circumstance, added to the occupation of the island of the Prater, having no doubt proved to the hostile generals that the army of the Archduke Charles would arrive to no purpose; that it would find the Tabor bridge destroyed; and that it was therefore useless to expose Vienna to a general conflagration, they determined to enter into a parley. They ordered their few remaining troops to cross the Danube during the night: the Archduke Maximilian left his powers behind, as a sanction for the capitulation of the city, and followed the troops to the left bank of the Danube, causing the bridge on the Tabor to be burned as soon as he had effected his passage.

Vienna surrendered the next day without any other terms than such as are usually agreed upon in respect to fortified towns; and on the 12th of May, a month after the Emperor's departure from Paris, our troops took possession of it.

We found in Vienna resources of every kind; in a word, we became masters of a capital which we might consider as much at our disposal as Paris itself.

We had occupied it but a few days when we learned the arrival of the Archduke Charles's army on the opposite bank of

* That arm of the river is the one used for the purposes of navigation by commercial men; it is always full of boats.

the Danube. It was much more numerous than our own, and might have greatly annoyed us if it had immediately attempted to cross the river. This was the only means of compelling us at once to evacuate Vienna, and was, I think, the Emperor's chief motive for accelerating his passage across the Danube, in order to confine the Archduke Charles to an attitude of defence. Censurers have dwelt much on so important an operation having been undertaken with such inadequate means; but they have overlooked the weighty reasons which determined the Emperor's judgment. It may here be said with justice, that nothing is more easy than criticism, nothing more difficult than the science of war.

The Emperor, in fact, could not command one-third of the means which were absolutely requisite for crossing the Danube, whether in respect to boats, cordages, or other necessary apparatus. As soon as the war was found to be unavoidable, he had instructed the minister of marine to send him some sailors of the flotilla;* but our march had been so rapid that they were unable to come up in time. The Emperor had in his service some officers of artillery and engineers of such indefatigable disposition, and of so inven-

* "Paris, 9th March, 1809.

"Vice-admiral Decrès,

"I wish to have with the army of the Rhine one of the battalions of the flotilla. This is the object I have in view: let me know if it can be accomplished. Twelve hundred sailors would be very serviceable to this army for the passage of rivers and the navigation of the Danube. Our sailors of the guard rendered me essential services in the last campaign; but the duty they performed was unworthy of them. Are all the sailors comprising the battalions of the flotilla men able to swim? Are they all competent to bring a boat into a road or a river? Do they understand infantry exercise? If they possess these qualifications they would be useful to me. It would be necessary to send with them some officers of the naval artillery, and about a hundred workmen with their tools. They would be a great resource for the passage and navigation of a river.

"Whereupon I pray, &c.

"NAPOLEON."

tive a genius, that he had only to state his determination to effect the operation; they found the means of accomplishing it. It may be proper to mention in this place, that if the Russian army had made a diversion in our favour, we should not have been obliged to cross the Danube. True it is, that army was not ready; but why was it not so? It had not a greater distance to march than our troops, some of which had been brought from Burgos.

An officer from the Emperor of Russia arrived every week at our head-quarters; a very active intercourse of letters was kept up between Russia and us; the only intercourse we wanted was that of some battalions; but we were without them, and were therefore compelled to rely upon our own resources.

The position of the army extended from the environs of Saint Polten to the front of Presburg: the Emperor had been under the necessity of sending a small corps of observation to the valley of Neustadt, in order to defend the defile leading into Italy. The population exhibited a greater disposition to resist us, and more animosity than in the last war; this was, therefore, an additional difficulty for the army to contend with, which might have been very serious had we met with any severe check.

The Austrian army of Galicia had just entered the duchy of Warsaw, and penetrated to the capital, which the gallant little army of Poles had been compelled to evacuate by crossing over to the right bank of the Vistula, in the hope of being soon joined by the Russian army (the Austrian army had come by the left bank). Prince Poniatowski, who commanded the Poles, displayed great gallantry and talent in this campaign.

The Emperor, although in possession of Vienna, was surrounded with numberless difficulties: he had, besides, the Austrian army of Italy to fear, which might do him incalculable injury in its retreat before the Viceroy's army could join

him. Matters would have been much worse had the Archduke Charles's army crossed the Danube.

All these considerations made it imperative for the Emperor to cross the river. On this occasion, again, he showed a remarkable example of personal courage; for no one augured well of this operation, which appeared undertaken without proper precautions, although it was not openly objected to on account of the Emperor, whose decisions none dared to combat. At last, on the night of the 19th May, he ordered down from Vienna all the navigable means that had been collected in the arm of the Danube which encircles the Prater. We had only one company of pontoniers, whilst six companies were wanting for such a service.

All these means were brought together, as well as the troops on the river side, at some hundred toises above the village of Ebersdorf, which stands at the distance of about two leagues below Vienna.

It was almost dark: we could not, at least, be discovered from the hostile bank, when the Emperor himself gave orders for embarking the first battalions which were intended to take up a position on the left bank. He attended personally to the placing of the soldiers in the boats, where he so arranged them, as to make the boats contain the greatest possible number. He caused cartridges to be distributed, and spoke to almost every man. He sent in the rear of this convoy a boat prepared for receiving two pieces of cannon, which he caused to be embarked in it without their caissons, but with a quantity of grape-shot and other charges, sufficient for the undertaking which he meditated. The convoy left the right bank of the Danube at nightfall on the 19th May, and landed on the left bank, at a large island called Lobau, which had been reconnoitred beforehand, and was found adapted to the contemplated object. It is exactly facing the village of Ebersdorf on the right bank, is of considerable extent, and was then so covered with wood as to present the appearance of a forest.

The island is intersected in its greatest length by two small arms of the Danube, which may each be eighteen or twenty feet broad. When the Danube is very low the water runs through them in a small stream fordable in all directions even for children; but, from one day to another, they become again small rivers; next after those two arms is the branch which finally cuts off the island of Lobau from the left bank; it is as broad as the *Moselle in France*; is extremely rapid, and without any ford. The Austrians had a strong detachment posted in the island, and relieved it every day by means of a boat placed in front of the small town of Euzerfdorf (on the left bank), to which the island afforded its pasturage. This post had only two or three sentinels on the bank of the large stream, and was itself stationed at a hut called the lodge of the game-keeper, who preserved the pheasants, which were in great abundance over the island.

The Emperor ordered me to be present at the first landing, and to return in the night to inform him of the manner in which it might have been effected. I placed myself in a small skiff rowed by two pontoniers, and reached the hostile shore with the whole convoy. The sentinels gave the alarm; but no resistance was offered to us, and the whole night was employed in passing fresh troops over to the island of Lobau, whilst the artillery-officers were engaged in superintending the construction of a bridge. The latter was intended to be of immense length, and divided into two parts, in consequence of a small sand-bank which arose out of the middle of the river; but the joint length of the two bridges was not less than 240 toises. The whole of the 20th May was taken up in finishing the bridge, during which time the Emperor never left the bank, and superintended in person the uninterrupted passage of the troops in boats whilst the bridges were being completed.

On the morning of the 20th news was brought to the Emperor that the enemy had effected a landing above Vienna, at

a village called Nursdorf, which is, properly speaking, one of the suburbs of the city, from its great proximity to it. He was not apprehensive of any important event resulting from that landing, because the troops which were on their way from Saint Polten to Vienna, in order to be present when the Austrians should attempt a passage, arrived on the spot at that very moment: the movement of the enemy was therefore unattended with any consequence, and merely gave us two hours' uneasiness. The Emperor was so careful never to leave any thing behind him which might complicate his operation, that he profited of the delay occasioned by the construction of the bridges to send me to Nursdorf with a brigade of cuirassiers, in order to set his mind at ease as to the result of the landing of the enemy, whom I found to have returned to the left bank.

All I had to do therefore was to go forward, and immediately turn back to join the army.

On the 21st the bridges were entirely completed, notwithstanding the great difficulties we had to contend with, owing to the absence of the principal materials for constructing them; since, to adduce one example, as a substitute for anchors we were compelled to use heavy weights, such as Austrian pieces of cannon, which were secured to the extremities of cables; but as those weights fell upon a gravel bottom, they did not sink deep enough to resist the power of the current; so that the boats could not be prevented from floating down in spite of every attempt to secure them firmly to the spot. The officers of artillery employed in constructing this bridge really performed wonders in enabling the army to pass over it.

The army filed off across the bridge in the afternoon of the 20th, and during the whole of the 21st of May; and a bridge was thrown over the last arm of the Danube by means of the Austrian pontoons which fell into our hands at Landshut. They were conveyed upon carts, and could be

transported in any direction. Under cover of a wood full of briers, which lined the side of the river to a considerable extent, the army debouched to the left bank, between the villages of Essling and Aspern, though somewhat nearer the latter village. We occupied them as defensive positions, by taking advantage of the walled enclosures, gardens and burying grounds. The troops, according as they debouched, gave extension to their line by spreading themselves upon the advanced ground.

CHAPTER IX.

Action of Ebersdorf—Ardour of the troops—Order of battle of our army—Battle of Essling—The bridge on the Danube is broken down—Gallant conduct of General Mouton—Marshal Lannes mortally wounded—Affliction and regret of Napoleon—Death of General Saint-Hilaire—Retreat—Napoleon holds a council with Massena and Berthier on the river side.

THE corps of Marshal Massena had already passed over, as well as two divisions of cuirassiers, when the Austrians, who occupied a position at no great distance, marched down to attack us. Ever since the 19th, or at least since the 20th, which was the preceding day, they must have been aware of the point at which we should effect a passage; accordingly, they had found time to collect their army and to advance upon us: they did not, however, evince much ardour in the charge; and I am of opinion that if we had not attempted to extend ourselves too far that night, they would not have attacked us, and we should have avoided an unsatisfactory encounter, which was attended with a loss, the effect of which was severely felt on the following day.

The sun was setting when the army debouched from the space

between the villages of Essling and Aspern. It had not advanced one hundred toises on that immense plain when a furrowing fire of cannon was opened upon it in all directions. An attempt was made to silence that tremendous cannonade by a desperate charge of cavalry. This had the effect of clearing the way for us on the right, but our left was thrown back upon the village of Aspern, one half of which was occupied by the enemy, who baffled all our attempts to dislodge them. Night put an end to the action, which occasioned us a very severe loss, not less than five or six thousand men in killed and wounded, besides the immense quantity of ammunition consumed. We passed the night within musket-shot of the Austrians, and the sentinels were on some points at no more than thirty paces from each other. In such a position it was almost impossible for either army to make a movement without the other being immediately apprised of it, the rather so as there was no obstruction intervening between them, and they both stood upon the same ground.

The Emperor came to bivouac that night on the sand, close to the Danube, which he did not again recross; he was thus within three hundred toises of the Austrian army. The whole night was taken up in passing the troops from the right to the left bank; this movement was going on at a slow rate, owing to the accidents which were constantly happening to the bridge; and it was only by unremitting care and labour, that the whole corps of Marshals Oudinot and Lannes, together with the foot-guards and some reserves, could reach the left bank. The army was all night in motion, in order to be prepared against an attack, which it was apprehended the enemy would make at daybreak on the following morning, the 22nd of May. It was then daylight at two or three o'clock, at which hour the Emperor was already on horseback, and going through the ranks of his army. As often as he appeared, his presence was hailed with deafening cries of "*Long live the Emperor!*" and as we were at pistol-shot distance from the hostile

army, the latter took up arms, and commenced firing a few shot through the fog which concealed us from each other, and which prevails at all seasons along the borders of the Danube. One of those shot killed the horse of General Monthion, in the group about the Emperor's person.

The general officers urged the Emperor to allow them to commence the attack, in order, as they said, to take advantage of the first ardour of the soldiers. He was rather averse to the proposal, as he expected the corps of Marshal Davout, which was still on the other side of the Danube, as well as General Nansouty's division of cuirassiers, with the major part of the horse-guards, and many of the allied troops; but he was so warmly urged by his officers that he gave way, and permitted the movements of attack to commence at the hour of half past three in the morning. Marshal Massena debouched on the left by the village of Aspern: he had under his orders the divisions of Generals Molitor, Le Grand, and Carra-Saint-Cyr, and a reserve division commanded by General Démont. Marshal Lannes debouched on the right of Marshal Massena, between Aspern and Essling, having with him the division of Generals Saint-Hilaire and Oudinot, and General Boudet's division as a reserve. Behind these troops, and in second line, were the foot-guards, consisting of two regiments of fusileers, two regiments of riflemen, and two regiments of the old guard; that is to say, one of grenadiers and another of chasseurs. Our cavalry consisted of a brigade of light-horse, under the orders of General Marulaz, two others under General Lasalle, the division of cuirassiers hitherto commanded by General d'Espagne (who was killed on the preceding day), and General Saint-Sulpice's division, with some squadrons of the guard, composed of Poles, chasseurs, and dragoons. Marshal Davout was on the right bank, ready to cross over with the division of General Friant, and those of Generals Morand and Gudin, which again formed part of his corps of troops; he had also under his orders General Vandamme and the Wirtemburgers, Nansouty's

division, and the remainder of the horse-guards. The Bavarians had been sent into the Tyrol to attack the insurgents, and to protect the city of Munich; General Wrede's division, if I recollect rightly, was in the direction of Lintz. The Emperor had a great partiality for that officer, and never parted from him but in a case of absolute necessity.

Our left and centre marched forward in the order already mentioned, always keeping an eye to our right, where our cavalry was stationed. I accompanied Marshal Lannes, who remained with General Saint-Hilaire's division. As we were traversing an immense plain, all the troops advanced in close order, partly formed in squares, and partly in columns.

The cannonade began almost at the very moment of our advance, and it made the greater havoc amongst us, as, besides our proximity to the enemy, we presented heavy masses to their artillery. The Austrians were also formed in squares checkerwise, and opened a fire of musketry upon us; but we suffered less from it than if some of their battalions had deployed. In like manner we should have done them much greater injury if, instead of troops consisting of raw levies, we had opposed to them such soldiers as those of the camp of Boulogne, which we might easily have moved in any direction, and made to deploy under the enemy's fire without any danger of their being thrown into disorder. We were still persisting in our attempts to penetrate through that checkered line when the fire of grape-shot and of musketry threw our columns into confusion, and compelled us to stop and open a fire of cannon and musketry, with the disadvantage of numbers against us. This disadvantage increased the longer we remained in our present position; it was, therefore, natural to conclude that the engagement, so far from ending in our favour, would in all probability terminate fatally for us. We attempted to counteract the difficulties we had to contend with by ordering the cuirassiers to charge successively in several directions; but they had scarcely penetrated the Aus-

trian line of infantry when they were driven back and closely pursued by their cavalry, which was three times more numerous than our own. To add to our distress, the want of ammunition was generally felt about half past eight in the morning. Officers were seen crossing the field of battle in every direction at that hour, in search of the park of stores, which was still on the other side of the Danube. We were also in want of fresh troops, and were expecting, with the utmost impatience, the corps of Marshal Davout, when some officers, who had been sent to accelerate his advance, brought back the information that the great bridge of the Danube had been broken down.

The enemy, after driving us back on the preceding day, had taken up, on the bank of the river, a position from whence they had a complete view of our bridge in its whole extent; and contriving to fill with stones the largest boats they could find, they sent them down the current. This contrivance proved but too successful; since, of the two bridges we had constructed, the one was wholly carried away, and the other half destroyed. The scanty supply of boats and pontoniers had prevented our raising a stoccade to protect the bridge, an omission which proved fatal to us. This disaster soon became known to the troops that were engaged, made them lose all hope of assistance, and the several corps withdrew in succession from the contest. It could not, in fact, be expected that, in the absence of all ammunition, they should remain in a position where certain destruction awaited them.

The Emperor commanded a retreat, and superintended it himself, by remaining exposed to a cannonade which we no longer answered. It became more and more harassing as we approached the bridge that communicated with the island of Lobau, and formed the centre of a circle, the circumference of which was occupied by the artillery. Our left and centre disputed every inch of ground in their retreat; and had not yet returned to the position between the villages of Essling

and Aspern, from whence they had debouched in the morning, when the enemy made a desperate attack upon our right, and carried the village of Essling, which was defended by Boudet's division. The retreat could only be secured by our quickly regaining that position, from whence the enemy would have reached the bridge long before the arrival of Marshals Massena and Lannes to cover it. Our situation was most critical; and we were about to be thrown into complete disorder, when the Emperor directed General Mouton, his aide-de-camp, to attack immediately with the fusileer brigade belonging to the guards. General Mouton, who had correctly estimated the importance of succeeding in this movement, lost not a moment in placing himself at the head of the fusileers, and entering the village of Essling in charging time, regardless of the numbers opposed to him, carried and retained possession of that village until he received orders to evacuate it. This bold and successful charge afforded us the means of effecting our retreat; but the gallant General Mouton was severely wounded, and compelled to quit the field of battle.

Marshal Lannes having returned to the position he had quitted in the morning for the purpose of attacking the enemy, used his utmost endeavours to preserve it, and dismounted, owing to the proximity of the fire of the enemy's artillery, which made it hazardous to remain on horseback: the cavalry had crossed over long before, and was stationed in the island of Lobau. The Emperor himself had quitted the field of battle, after issuing his final orders in respect to re-crossing the bridge; and he was engaged in pointing some artillery in the island of Lobau, for the purpose of protecting the retreat of our columns, when intelligence was brought to him that Marshal Lannes had just had his legs carried off by a cannon-shot. He was affected to tears at the news; and at the moment he was listening to the particulars of that sad event, he perceived a litter coming from

the field of battle with Marshal Lannes stretched upon it. He ordered him to be carried to a retired spot, where they might be alone and uninterrupted. With his face bathed in tears, he approached and embraced his dying friend. Exhausted by the great loss of blood, Marshal Lannes said to him in broken accents, "Farewell, Sire: spare a life dear to all; and bestow a passing thought upon the memory of one of your best friends, who in two hours will be no more!" This deeply affecting scene created in the Emperor a powerful emotion. General Saint-Hilaire had a short time before been brought back wounded in the foot by a cannon ball; he died of the wound a fortnight afterwards. The loss of Marshal Lannes was felt by the whole army, and completed the disasters of that fatal day.

The enemy did not take advantage of our retreat, but left us unmolested the whole evening in our position between Aspern and Essling. It was five o'clock before we retired to the wood bordering the river, which we recrossed in the night without further annoyance. The bridge of boats on the arm of the river was taken to pieces, and the pontoons which had formed it were placed upon carts, as well as the anchors, cordage, beams, and thick planks, all which were sent to the bridge on the broad arm of the Danube, where they were made to replace the boats carried away by the current.* The whole army, infantry, cavalry, artillery, the

* "23rd May, 1809, after midnight.

"To Marshal Massena.

"The Emperor has reached the first bridge on the small arm of the river. The hanging bridge is broken down, and orders are given to repair it. It is necessary, however, that you should send there some sappers, to construct two hanging bridges instead of one: the first bridge on the great arm, which is half destroyed, will take up much more of our time, and can only be repaired to-morrow night at soonest. Great care, therefore, must be taken to protect the head of the first bridge, which you are to cross to-morrow morning. This will be effected by bringing the artillery forward, and removing the pontoons, in order to let the

staff, the wounded, every thing without exception, was removed to the island of Lobau on the morning of the 24th. The Emperor was still there in person on the 22nd at night-fall; he came close up to the great arm, the bridge of which had been destroyed: the waters of the Danube had greatly increased, this being the season of the melting of the snow coming from the Tyrol; so that even the two arms which traversed the island, and had hitherto been found dry, or at least fordable, had become dangerous torrents, requiring hanging bridges to be thrown over them.

The Emperor crossed them in a skiff, having the Prince of Neufchatel and myself in his company. We were unable to bring our horses over, and were under the necessity of continuing our journey on foot. When arrived on the bank of the Danube, the Emperor sat down under a tree, and there waited for Marshal Massena, to whom he had sent orders to join him. He soon came up to us, and the Emperor formed a small council, in order to collect the opinions of those about him as to what had best be done under existing circumstances.

Let the reader picture to himself the Emperor sitting between Massena and Berthier on the bank of the Danube, with the bridge in front, of which there scarcely remained any

enemy infer from your arrangements that we have in reserve the means of throwing the bridge for the purpose of crossing. By that feint you will succeed in keeping them in check. As soon, however, as the pontoons have been withdrawn, they should be placed upon carts, with their cordage, anchors, beams, and thick planks, &c., and sent immediately to the bridge on the broad arm, which stands in need of fourteen or fifteen boats to complete it. You will send your companies of pontoniers to assist in the work. You are aware that activity alone can accomplish all this.

"The Emperor is about to cross to the other side, in order to accelerate the arrival of all our resources, and to send provisions over to us. The great point for you, therefore, is to maintain yourself in strength, and with a commanding artillery in the first island, and to send your pontoons to repair the broken bridge.

"ALEXANDER."

vestige, Marshal Davout's corps on the other side of the broad river and behind in the island of Lobau itself, the whole army separated from the enemy by a mere arm of the Danube, thirty or forty toises broad, and deprived of all means of extricating itself from this position, and he will admit that the lofty and powerful mind of the Emperor could alone be proof against discouragement. He was fully prepared for the suggestion about to be offered to him of recrossing the Danube in the best manner possible, and of leaving behind what could not be removed, such as the whole of the artillery, the horses, &c. &c.

The Emperor quietly listened to all the arguments urged upon his attention; and then said: "You might as well, gentlemen, advise me to retreat to Strasburg. If I recross the Danube, I must evacuate Vienna, because the enemy will cross over immediately after me: may they not then drive me back to Strasburg? In my present condition I have no means of resisting their attack except by endeavouring to cross to the left bank of the river if they should cross over to its right bank, and thus to manœuvre round Vienna, which is really my capital, and the centre of my resources. If I recross the Danube, and the Archduke should also cross it at Lintz, for example, I shall have to march upon Lintz; whereas, by remaining in the position I now occupy, if he attempts that movement, I shall cross over and follow him until he turns round upon me. It is impossible I should remove to any distance from Vienna without leaving behind me twenty thousand men, one half of whom will otherwise have returned to their ranks before the expiration of a month from the present time."

He brought every one back to his opinion; and although the prospect of reposing from our fatigues on the other side of the Danube would have been cheering to every one, we resigned ourselves to the necessity of remaining in the island. Marshal Massena assumed the command of all the troops

which were concentrated there; and the Emperor gave him written instructions regarding the mode of defence he was to adopt, if, as there was reason to apprehend, he should have to resist an attack.

CHAPTER X.

The Emperor recrosses the river—Arrival of twelve hundred sailors of the guard—Stratagem resorted to by the Austrians to destroy our bridges—Wonderful activity of the Emperor—Construction of a bridge upon piles—The Emperor dispatches orders to Prince Eugene in Italy and to Marmont in Dalmatia—General arrangements—Gratuities distributed amongst the men in hospitals—Gratitude of the wounded.

After having adopted this determination, the Emperor ordered the engineers and sappers who were in the island to embark in the boats which had been saved from the broken bridge, and return to the right bank, and he got into a skiff with the Prince of Neufchatel and myself for the same destination. We crossed the Danube towards midnight: the Emperor was exhausted with fatigue; and I offered him the assistance of my arm to walk up to the house which he had occupied in the village of Ebersdorf previously to the passing of the river. His mind was evidently at work, though free from agitation. On arriving, he laid himself down upon a bundle of straw, and took a few moments' rest. Two hours after daylight he was already on horseback, and visiting the bivouacs of those troops which, owing to the breaking down of the bridge, had been prevented from taking a part in the engagement.

Malevolence has delighted in representing the Emperor as of a mistrustful character; and yet on this occasion, where ill-intentioned men might have made any attempt upon his person, his only guard at head-quarters was the Portuguese

legion, which watched as carefully over him as the veterans of the army of Italy could have done.

The first object of attention was to collect a few boats, in order to send provisions to the island of Lobau; and the exertions to supply the army were attended with success.

Every endeavour was made to send boats with their rigging down the current from all parts of the Danube for the purpose of constructing fresh bridges; and our efforts were not unavailing. The bridges were already restored, and the cavalry about to cross, when the Austrians again contrived to send boats loaded with stones down the stream, which broke them a second time. This fortunately occurred in the open day, and we were, therefore, enabled on our parts to send some skiffs after them, whose descent being much more rapid than the fragments of the bridge, the latter were secured, and brought to the left bank, from whence, by dint of considerable exertions, they were led back to the bridges. This painful labour would not have been attended with any successful result had we not been joined by a corps of twelve hundred sailors from Antwerp, who were commanded by naval officers. This corps was followed by a battalion of artisans of every trade, also belonging to the naval department; and we were saved by their timely assistance. The sailors were immediately united to the pontoniers; and a quantity of little skiffs, manned by a proportionate number of sailors, were kept up as cruisers on the river. These skiffs kept close to the sand-banks bordering the islands scattered over the Danube; but as soon as they descried a boat or raft coming down, they rowed up to it, and instantly boarded, and brought it to the river side; so that the very boats which had destroyed our bridges on the preceding day afforded us on the next the means of repairing them. From thenceforth they escaped all danger of being broken down, and we were enabled to send over to the right bank all the cavalry, the artillery, and whatever we could dispense with. The horses

had lived upon the grass and leaves found in the island ever since the day of the engagement.

It was no small advantage to have restored the bridges, and secured them from further accident, by means of the skiffs manned by regular sailors, and formed into a stoccade, to protect them.

The Emperor sent the troops to the cantonments they had occupied previously to this disastrous operation, and left only Marshal Massena and his corps in the island. He was at a loss to account for the Austrians having neglected to bring all their artillery down to the bank of that arm of the Danube which separated them from the island, and keep up a constant firing of cannon, every shot of which would have told; added to which, they could have done us the more harm, as we had no ammunition to return the fire, and we were in dense masses upon the island. We augured from this circumstance that they contemplated to cross the river at some point above Vienna.

The Emperor disposed his army in such a manner, as to be able to bring it together within twenty-four hours. He kept with him all the infantry that had recrossed from the island to the right bank, and made it go into camp: he attended to the re-organization of the artillery, and named on this occasion General La Riboissiere first inspector of that branch of service, in lieu of General Songis, who had been mortally wounded. Measures were also adopted for procuring remounts for the cavalry. All the orders which he had to issue on this subject were expedited in one night; and he considered the next morning of the means of preparing anew the materials requisite for a fresh passage across, which he expressed his determination to effect in the course of one month from the present time. On the former occasion he had only thrown one bridge over the arm of the Danube that separated him from the enemy, and he now resolved to build four, though he had not one of the boats which are indispen-

sable for the construction of the three additional ones. He established in the island of Lobau the battalion of naval artificers, with the shipwrights of the same corps, who had arrived with them, and sent thither from Vienna timber of every dimension and quality.

In a very few days the keels were laid of all the boats he stood in need of, and the boats were soon launched in one of the small arms running through the island. This work was very creditable to the shipwrights of the naval department. Whilst these pontoons were preparing in the island of Lobau, the Emperor was causing a bridge upon piles to be constructed, which extended the whole width of the Danube. General Bertrand, his aide-de-camp, was the officer who executed this splendid work. Bertrand was one of the best engineer officers that France could boast of since the days of Vauban: he established himself on the river side, with all the artillery officers and the battalions of sappers.

The exhaustless arsenal of Vienna had supplied us with a profusion of timber, originally destined for repairing the bridges of Vienna and of Krems; and also with cordage and iron, and with forty engines to drive the piles in.

All this was brought down to Ebersdorf; and the environs of that village were transformed into docks, not unlike those of an extensive seaport. The driving in of the piles, the sawing of wood and boards, and the building of boats, all went on at the same time. Whilst every means were preparing to cross the river, attention was paid to defending the island of Lobau; an object which was also to afford the means of protecting the passage to the left bank. Epaulements and embrasures were raised along the arm of the Danube, and lined with Austrian artillery, taken from the arsenal at Vienna, of which General La Riboissiere had collected all the workmen, whose condition being extremely wretched, they had consented to assist in the labour for the sake of the soldier's ration. This part of the military administration performed wonders, and

set on foot an immense number of guns of all sizes. The activity displayed in raising resources would almost appear incredible to those who witnessed it; still less can justice be done to it by any description, which, however correct, would not escape the charge of being deemed exaggerated.

Whilst the Emperor was urging on the works at the arsenals and in the docks, he bent his mind to recomposing the *personnel* of his army so effectually, that it should no longer be exposed to the consequences of any fatal engagement like that of the 22nd of May, nor even of any doubtful one. The ideas to which his inventive genius gave birth, the obstacles which his mind had to overcome, exceed all belief. He first sent orders to the Viceroy, who commanded the army of Italy, consisting of four complete divisions, to bring it over without the smallest delay; an order which was punctually obeyed. He also sent word to General Marmont, who commanded in Dalmatia, to come and join him immediately: this general had two divisions under his orders, and could only reach Vienna after surmounting many and serious difficulties. The disaster at Essling had been carefully made known in every direction by the agents of Austria, who neglected none of the means best calculated to keep up the hopes of the subjects of that monarchy; so that General Marmont, when he penetrated through those provinces, was every where obstructed by insurrections, or by the ill-will of the inhabitants. Nothing short of a feeling much more powerful than the mere love of duty could have enabled him to conquer all those obstacles, and to bring up a well-conditioned body of veterans. This service was duly appreciated by the Emperor, who was partial to Marmont, and was glad of an opportunity of expressing his satisfaction at what he had done.

At the commencement of the campaign he had sent French marshals or generals to command the contingents of the several confederated princes: this had been agreed upon by common consent, without any derogation from the authority vested in

the generals of those princes, who had the controul over whatever related to military details and to the discipline of the troops. He had placed his own generals at the head of those contingents for no other reason than that they were more accustomed to his manner of enforcing obedience, and that they should correspond with the Prince of Neufchatel, according to the practice of the other French officers. Marshal Bernadotte had accordingly been sent to take the command of the Saxon army, consisting of two fine divisions of infantry and one of cavalry. The Saxon corps covered Dresden previously to the Archduke Charles's army being joined by the Austrian forces in Bohemia; but from the moment of their junction, and of Saxony having no longer any attack to apprehend, except from a few partisans, who made occasional inroads into that country, the Emperor had recalled that Saxon corps, which was the last to join him, in consequence of the circuit it had to make. He likewise urged the King of Bavaria to make some further efforts, of a more decisive character than heretofore, against the Tyrolese insurgents, so as to enable him to withdraw a Bavarian division to his assistance in case of need. All necessary orders for reframing the *personnel* of his army were both given and dispatched on the first days following the 22nd of May. Nothing more remained to be done, except to attend to the comfort of the troops he had with him, and prevent their numbers from becoming imperceptibly reduced, as it usually happens in war under trying and difficult circumstances. His attention was particularly directed to the hospitals, and he had them regularly visited by his aides-de-camp. After the battle he made them the bearers of a gratuity of sixty francs, in crown pieces, to each wounded soldier, and from one hundred and fifty to fifteen hundred francs to the officers, according to their respective ranks: he sent still larger sums to the wounded generals. The Emperor's aides-de-camp had for several days no other occupation to attend to. I can assert, as far as

concerned myself, that I was constantly engaged during forty-eight hours in making the distribution to three of the hospitals. The Emperor had given orders that this should be done in the manner most calculated to soothe the feelings of the wounded. The visits to the hospitals, for example, were made by the aide-de-camp in full uniform, accompanied by the war commissary, the officers of health, and the director. The secretary of the hospital went before them with the register of the sick in hand, and named the men, as well as the regiment to which they belonged: after which, twelve five-franc pieces were placed at the head of the bed of each wounded soldier; this sum being taken out of baskets full of money, carried by four men dressed in the Emperor's livery. These gratuities were not drawn from the military chest, but entirely supplied out of the Emperor's private purse.

A collection might have been made, no less valuable as materials for the Emperor's history, than as redundant to his glory, of the many expressions of gratitude uttered by these gallant fellows, as well as of the language in which they gave vent to their love and attachment to his person. Some of the men could not hope to spend those twelve crown pieces; but, at the very brink of death, the tears running down their cheeks strongly indicated how feelingly alive they were to this mark of their General's remembrance. At no time did I feel so enthusiastic an admiration for the Emperor as when he was attending to the wants of his soldiers: his heart expanded at hearing of any service rendered to them, or of his being the object of their affection. He has been accused of having been unsparing of their lives; but they never encountered any danger without having him at their head: he was every thing at once; and nothing but the basest malevolence can calumniate the sentiment which was nearest his heart, and which is one of the numberless claims which his immense labours have given him to the homage of posterity. He was beloved by the soldiers, and he loved them in return. It is

impossible they could have for him a greater attachment than what he entertained for them.*

He passed the month of June in unceasing occupations, and had not removed from Ebersdorf, where he proposed to remain until the moment of passing the Danube, when other business suddenly called him away, and compelled him to transfer his head-quarters to Schönbrunn, his stay at Ebersdorf having been wholly occasioned by the conviction he felt that the enemy would not remain inactive; he was therefore desirous of being in readiness to avail himself of any chance that fortune might place within his grasp.

* The Emperor never beheld any gallant deeds on the part of his soldiers without being prompted by an inward impulse to honour the memory of the valiant men of any age or country. In the midst of his occupations at Vienna, in 1809, he was not unmindful of the memory of the Chevalier Bayard. This warrior, it is well known, was a native of Dauphiny; he was born in 1474, and was killed on the retreat of Rebec, in the Milanese territory, in 1524.

The chapel of the village of La Martinière, in which that hero had been christened, was repaired at great expense by the Emperor's orders.

He also ordered that the heart of the Chevalier Bayard, which had escaped the brutal rage of our civil discords, should be removed to the above chapel with due ceremony; and to give greater splendour to the homage so rendered to the hero's memory, the Emperor commanded all the civil and military authorities to be present at the ceremony, and on their way to the spot not to omit any circumstance calculated to display in the strongest colours the virtues of the hero whose memory was celebrated. An inscription dictated by the Emperor himself, and recording the praises of the knight "without fear and without reproach," was placed on the leaden box containing his heart.

CHAPTER XI.

Unpleasant impression created by the battle of Essling—Distress of the inhabitants of Vienna—The Emperor of Austria persists in cutting off its supplies—Particulars concerning the death of Marshal Lannes—Conduct of Russia—Re-organization of the army—The Archduke John threatens to debouch by Presburg—Preparations for attacking the city—The Archduke Charles expresses the desire that they should be suspended—Proclamations of the Archdukes.

THE battle of Essling appeared to have thrown the whole of Germany into convulsion; the people of Prussia, in particular, were on the point of breaking out into open acts; and had they not considered a second success on the part of the Austrians as a matter of course, nothing could have withheld them; but they paused to take a surer aim. The state of public opinion was such, that a Colonel Schill, belonging to a regiment of hussars, had the courage to quit his garrison at the head of his regiment, and to engage in a wandering and partisan warfare in countries free from French troops. The King of Prussia disavowed this colonel's conduct; but there is ground for believing, that if Colonel Schill had not been aware of the inward sentiments of his sovereign and of the nation, he would not have dared to act as he did, and again hazard the safety of the Prussian monarchy. Some Westphalian troops were sent in pursuit of him, and he was killed near Stralsund.

The moral effect of our disaster had been decidedly against us. The German authorities had no sooner issued an order all over the country, forbidding the introduction of supplies into Vienna, than they were immediately obeyed. Nothing was heard of but insurrections in the countries which our troops evacuated for the purpose of swelling our ranks. Our position in Vienna became extremely critical as soon as

the cries of want began to be generally heard. The bakers had no bread to deal out to the groups of people who had collected round their shops, and in such numbers, that it was found necessary to station guards for their protection. The Emperor was seen at this time riding about the suburbs, and exerting himself with the chief commissary of the army to restore abundance to Vienna, with the same zeal as if the population of Paris had been the object of his solicitude. And yet, what had he to apprehend for his troops? The military stores were full; and if the mob of Vienna had attempted to revolt, it had assuredly no claim to his consideration.

"Really," he would sometimes exclaim, "the Emperor of Austria would do much more for his fame by recrossing the Danube and rescuing his capital, than by starving his subjects to death, and imposing upon me the task of preserving them from the evils to which his hatred for my person has subjected them."

It is important to mention that, in this painful crisis, the magistrates of Vienna came to solicit the Emperor's permission for their sending a deputation to the Emperor of Austria, whom they were desirous of prevailing upon to issue orders that the supplies of which his subjects in Vienna stood in need, should be allowed to pass on the Danube, and through the frontiers of Hungary.

The Emperor granted their request, and had them conducted to the advanced posts. They accordingly proceeded to the head-quarters of their sovereign; but whether the prince fancied it to be a stratagem on our part to obtain supplies, or whether he had any other motive for not conceding to the deputation all they came to request, they had the mortification to return without gaining their object: it was only some time later that the Emperor of Austria granted full latitude in this respect; and we ascertained that he only did

so upon learning that we were not mainly interested in that act of humanity.

During the Emperor's stay at Ebersdorf he went every day at noon to visit Marshal Lannes, who could not be removed to a greater distance than one of the houses of the village. Having received one day a message that the marshal was desirous to see him, he hastened to the spot. A delirious fever had come upon that unfortunate general, whose spirits, however, revived when he beheld the Emperor. He had dreamed that an attempt was made upon his life; and said to him, that being unable to walk, he had sent to request he would come to defend him. The Emperor was deeply afflicted at seeing the marshal in this state. The medical men requested him to withdraw, because the patient's case was desperate; and he returned home in great distress of mind. Two hours afterwards, he was again told that Marshal Lannes wished to bid him farewell: he immediately went to see him; but on his arrival, M. Yvan, the doctor in attendance, came up to inform him that the patient had expired a few minutes before. In Marshal Lannes we lost one of the most gallant men our armies could at any time boast of. His life was too short for his friends; but his career of honour and glory was without a parallel.

The Emperor was, in every respect, deeply penetrated at this loss. He left Ebersdorf the same night. We were at the commencement of June, and the heat was excessive. In order to avoid the dust, he directed his suite, consisting of nearly fifty individuals, of all ranks, to remain behind, and kept me only with him.

I had no doubt that he wished to speak to me about Russia; and this was, in fact, the subject that occupied his mind. He asked me what I thought of the manner in which that country had treated him, prefacing the question by the following observations:—"It was fortunate for me that I placed no

dependence upon such allies. Could worse have happened to me had I not made peace with the Russians? What advantage do I derive from their alliance, if they are not in a condition to guarantee to me the permanence of peace in Germany? It is much more likely that they would have turned against me, had not some regard for character restrained them from so soon breaking their plighted faith. I must not give way to a vain illusion. They have all sworn my ruin, but have not the courage to compass it.

"I can understand that the Emperor Alexander should not come to my assistance; but whatever reasons may be urged for his permitting Warsaw to be invaded in the very teeth of his army, I must infer from this conduct that our treaty of alliance is a mere dead letter, and that he is duping me. He perhaps imagines that he confers favour enough by not declaring war against me: had I, however, suspected this previously to embarking in the enterprise upon Spain, I should now feel little uneasiness at any determination he might come to. Will it again be said now that I fail in my engagements, and cannot remain at peace?"

He then asked me what I thought of St. Petersburg. I replied in the following words:—"I am, Sire, of opinion, that, laying aside the Emperor of Russia's personal sentiments of regard for your Majesty, that monarch is not sorry to see you so much engaged; and that the Austrians would never have begun the war, into which they have so unjustly forced us, had they not been assured of the state of inaction, at least, of the Russians. I am also persuaded, however, that the Emperor is the only man in Russia who desires to adhere to the alliance with your Majesty; that he is urged on all sides to declare himself; and if we were to afford him the pretext for doing so, we should thereby divest him of what little moral power he still opposes to the wishes of those by whom he is surrounded, and thus leave the course open to him. It is also very true that we derive no advantage from that alliance,

except Russia's abstaining from declaring war against us; but she will not prevent our being attacked; and it will probably be our best plan not to rely upon her effectual assistance, though on no other occasion could we stand more in need of it."

The Emperor listened attentively to me, but did not utter a single word in reply: he continued riding at a slow pace, until he reached the gate of the suburbs of Vienna, when he proceeded at a gallop to the palace of Schönbrunn. His head-quarters remained there until the re-opening of the campaign; but he went every day to visit the island of Lobau and the works of the great bridge.

The lapse of each week in this state of quiet was of important advantage to him. The regiments were recruiting their strength, and the artillery was re-organising itself. The Austrian military stores were of great assistance to us on this occasion. The Emperor was indefatigably active, and every one else followed his example. The most gigantic works ever undertaken in any campaign were those which the engineer department executed on the Danube in the present year; no parallel to them can be found even in the immortal works of the Roman armies. We only waited their full completion to commence those operations which were to decide the fate of the campaign. The Austrian armies, on the other hand, were not inactive, though their exertions fell far short of ours. The principal army, under the orders of the Archduke Charles, which had been joined by that of General Klenau, was encamped in a line almost perpendicular to the Danube, with its left at the village of Margraff-Neusidel, its centre at Wagram, and its right in the direction of Aderklaw, the advanced-guard being stationed along the bank of the Danube, facing the island of Lobau. The army in the duchy of Warsaw, although twice as numerous as the Polish army of Prince Poniatowski, could never obtain the advantage in any engagement with the latter, which covered itself with glory

whenever it was compelled to fight a battle. Had it received the smallest assistance, it would have taken the offensive on a large scale, and undoubtedly obtained successes worthy of its patriotism, and of the courage so characteristic of the soldiers of that country. But the Russians never stirred, though always promising to advance; those assurances of assistance were only calculated to compromise them with both parties.*

* Letter of Prince Poniatowski to the Major-general.

"Head-quarters of Pulawy, 27th June, 1809.

"Monseigneur,

"I have already had the honour to submit to your Serene Highness, under date of the 21st instant, that notwithstanding Prince Gallitzin's positive engagement to send on that day two divisions of his army beyond the San, no movement has indicated his intention of complying with his engagement. In fact, under pretence of want of provisions, that measure was only carried into effect partially two days afterwards, and with the slowness which has hitherto characterised every movement of the Russian troops. These delays have enabled the Austrian corps which had crossed over to the right bank of the Vistula to effect its retreat with the utmost composure; nor has any attempt been made to disturb it. The certainty which the Austrian army acquired from that moment that the troops under the orders of Prince Gallitzin would not cross the Vistula, has induced the Archduke Ferdinand to move with great rapidity twenty-five thousand men, being the principal part of his forces, towards the Pilica, and thereby to threaten the frontiers of the duchy. This movement enabled me to advance to Pulawy, where the troops under my orders have been stationed these last three days. From this point, by means of a bridge I have had thrown over the Vistula, I may, without quitting Galicia, watch the further advance of the enemy, cross to the left bank, if necessary, and by manœuvring on one of the extremities of his line, connect my operations with those of Generals Dombrowsky and Sockolniki, who with a force of about eight thousand men have taken up a position at Gora. The whole of my cavalry, which is placed between Zwolin and Radom, and is supported by the infantry, watches the enemy's movements, and is in a condition to unite at any point where it can act with the greatest advantage. I shall neglect no opportunity that may offer; and if no favourable circumstances should present themselves to the Polish troops for obtaining fresh successes, I shall nevertheless fulfil the intentions of his Majesty the Emperor by giving employment here to a corps of Austrian troops, considerably more numerous than those I can oppose to them. The arrival of the Russian army in Galicia, and the events to which it has given rise, having placed it in the power of the enemy to disturb that part of Galicia which is situated on the right bank of the Vistula, have necessarily paralysed our operations; and the Russian generals contribute still more to it by placing

The grand Austrian army was giving some indications of its intention to effect a passage at Presburg. They had a pontoon train at that place, and the Austrians had just taken possession of a small island, facing the city, and very near the right bank, from which it was only separated by a very small arm of the Danube, so that they might have established here their grand bridge without encountering any difficulty. Had they succeeded in crossing over, the Emperor would have been placed in a very critical position, because by that operation the junction of the Austrian armies would have been effected; and as the distance from Presburg to Vienna is only six leagues, all our works at Ebersdorf must have been abandoned, however important we felt it to be to complete them.

The Emperor ordered Marshal Davout to force the enemy out of that island, an order which was immediately carried into execution: he also accompanied this attack with a discharge from about a hundred howitzers, which he fired into Presburg. These demonstrations answered the purpose. The Austrian staff was dissatisfied at seeing so large a city exposed to the ravages of fire, and requested it might be spared. The Emperor consented to the request, and from that moment the project of a passage was abandoned.

in office at whatever place they arrive, some Austrian subjects, who are particularly active in tormenting the inhabitants, and in stifling any feelings that may be adverse to the interests of their sovereign. I hope, however, that the animated zeal of the Galicians will be proof against these fresh obstacles, and that we shall not be deprived of the resources which the country presents for augmenting our forces, unless the total want of arms should check their desire to deserve well of the country, by rendering themselves worthy of the Emperor's protection. Deign, Monseigneur, to accept the assurance of my distinguished consideration.

"The general of division commanding the Polish troops of the 9th corps,

"Joseph, Prince Poniatowski."

* Communication from the Major-general to the Baron de Wimpfen.

"Schönbrunn, 30th June, 1809.

"M. Le Baron de Wimpfen,

"I laid your letter of the 18th before the Emperor as soon as I received it. The works you have raised before Presburg, the movements of boats along the

The Austrian army, which had just evacuated Italy had reached the plateau in advance of the town of Raab, on the river of that name, at the same time that the army under the orders of the Viceroy of Italy had descended from the mountains that separate Germany from Italy.

The Viceroy having marched against the army which was in front of Raab, found some difficulty in maintaining his ground on the plateau; but by his personal firmness he led the troops on to the charge, and not only succeeded in keeping possession of it, but he also broke the Austrian army, and compelled it to recross the Raab, after leaving a garrison in the town of the same name, which the Viceroy immediately blockaded. The Emperor felt anxious to secure the possession of that place, in order to deprive the enemy of all further means of crossing the river, and to make the Viceroy take a part in the important events of which he was laying the foundation, and which were now near at hand.

The workmen were so much urged, that in a few days it was found practicable to open a fire from the trench. The enemy no doubt felt a reluctance to sacrifice an important town to no purpose, since another direction was given to the

quays, the occupation of the intrenched islands, all which have been reported to the French general in command, have been the causes of the attack made upon that city. It is quite consistent with the principles of warfare to attempt to defeat the enemy's designs; and as often as offensive preparations are made near a large city it is necessarily exposed to suffer a serious injury, which is to be ascribed to those who have selected that city as their point of operations. Nevertheless, General, it was sufficient for his Majesty to be apprised that your generalissimo felt desirous the attack upon Presburg should cease: he has accordingly authorised me to issue an order to that effect. The Emperor, my master, has disregarded the proclamations of inexperienced young princes; but he could not help regretting that his Imperial Highness the Archduke Charles, for whom he has entertained for the last sixteen years that esteem which is due to his exalted merit, should have held a language which his Majesty can only attribute to the tide of circumstances. His Majesty requests you will tender his compliments to your generalissimo.

"Accept, Sir, &c.

"ALEXANDER."

army which they had in that quarter. They recalled it to the left bank of the Danube, and it came to take up a position at Presburg, from whence it opened a communication with the Archduke Charles by means of the bridges established on the Marche, a river which separates Hungary from Moravia.

The Austrians were really at this time in a formidable attitude; they might even have recalled the corps stationed in Poland: such a powerful mass as they now presented could have nothing to fear from the Poles. Admitting even that the Russians had acted openly against them, they were so far removed from the scene of action, that they never could have arrived until after the blow had been struck. The Austrians acted otherwise, however, and waited until the Emperor was ready. So great was the terror of his name, that their whole attention was bent upon watching what he should undertake, without considering what their commanding force might have enabled them to attempt.

The Emperor did not suffer a day to pass without reviewing some of his troops, and examining in person whether the orders he had issued had been carried into execution: he went every afternoon to visit the works going forward in the island of Lobau, and he then examined how far his directions had been attended to. When surrounded on those occasions by artillery and engineer officers, it was almost impossible to get him away, and night had always set in when we returned to the palace of Schönbrunn.

At last the long-wished-for moment arrived. After twenty-two days of unparalleled labour, the engineer branch of the army, under the orders of General Bertrand, completed a bridge upon piles from one bank of the Danube to the other, being a length of two hundred and forty toises: this bridge served as a stoccade to the bridge of boats below it: above the bridge of piles there was another of the same kind, eight or ten feet wide, which served as a stoccade to the large

one, and was also used for those constant communications which might otherwise have interrupted the passage of the columns filing along the two large bridges. Independently of these, there were three large hanging bridges thrown over the two small arms which run through the island of Lobau; and lastly, in a kind of sewer communicating with the arm of the Danube which separated us from the enemy, we had, first, the pontoon train used for the passage of the 20th of May, and three other trains, which the Emperor had ordered to be constructed in the island and on the side of this sewer. They were ranged in the following order: the two at the further extremity were formed of two boats furnished with all their rigging, and ready covered over with their small beams and broad planks, so that nothing more was necessary for constructing the bridge than to assemble five or six of the masses so arranged. The pontoon train at the mouth of the sewer was complete in every respect, and covered over with planks, and was to be launched in one solid mass, though its length was not less than two hundred and forty feet. It was the invention of a naval engineer officer, who undertook to mount it. The work appeared so extraordinary, that a model was taken from it by the artillery, and I have since seen that model at Paris in the hall destined for the reception of all objects of art connected with that branch of the service. The bridge which had been used for the first passage was reloaded upon carts; and a bridge made of trading boats was laid along the Danube in that part where it is wholly unobstructed, so as to be brought if necessary to the entrance of the branch we had to cross over. The border of this latter branch of the river was lined in all its extent with a great number of Austrian field-pieces, which were mounted upon new carriages made for the express purpose in the arsenal of Vienna. The greater part of those cannon were of a very large bore, and had formerly lain unmounted on the ramparts of Vienna, or in the ditches adjoining them. Provisions had been collected at

Ebersdorf for the immense army which was about to take up that position; and the hospital branch of the military administration had likewise been carefully attended to.

The month of June had passed away without any explosion, either at a distance from us, or in our immediate vicinity. The Emperor dispatched to all the corps his orders for their forming a junction at Ebersdorf: they had been written and signed many days before, but had the exact date of their transmission affixed to them, as well as the precise hour of the day when the corps were to reach Ebersdorf. The officers who were to convey them were detained at head-quarters, from whence they were not allowed to absent themselves. These preparatory measures having been taken, the Emperor only remained a day or two longer at Schönbrunn, where he was engaged in business with M. Maret, who regularly laid before him the dispatches of the several ministers, which were brought every week to the army by an auditor of the Council of State, as I have already mentioned in another place.

CHAPTER XII.

The army is concentrated in the island of Lobau—Preparations for the attack—An Austrian flag of truce—Bridge made of a single piece—Violent storm—The Emperor is on horseback the whole night—Oudinot's corps commences the engagement.

In the afternoon of the 2nd of July the Emperor transferred his head-quarters from Schönbrunn to Ebersdorf, and ordered me to remove thither the whole of the baggage of the grand head-quarters, and not to allow a single Frenchman to remain at Schönbrunn.

At daybreak of the 3rd July he mounted his horse, and issued directions for all his suite to repair to his tents, which were pitched in the island of Lobau.

Ever since the afternoon of the 2nd the troops had begun to arrive from all directions; a movement which was continued in the night of that day, on the 3rd, during that night also, and again on the 4th. They filed off on the two bridges in order to take up a position in the island of Lobau. A hundred and fifty thousand infantry, seven hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, and three hundred squadrons of cavalry, constituted the Emperor's army. The different corps were stationed in the island according to the order in which they were to cross the bridges of the last arm of the river, so as to avoid the confusion which their numbers might otherwise occasion.

General Oudinot was placed at the extreme right; behind him was the corps of Marshal Davout; on the left, in the rear of Massena's corps, was stationed the army of Italy, and close to it the corps of Marmont, recently arrived from Dalmatia, having on its left the Saxon corps under Bernadotte, which had just joined the army. My memory does not enable me to point out the position of the Wirtemburg troops, which, to the best of my recollection, were to come up as a corps of reserve.

The cavalry were stationed in the rear of the infantry; but the island afforded such little space, that it was impossible for the different corps to move without coming into immediate contact with each other.

On the 4th the Emperor had the bridge thrown over at the same place where the first passage had been effected on the 20th of May; and Marshal Massena immediately took possession of the wood full of briers, which runs along the arm of the Danube at this point. This was not followed up by any other movement. The enemy, however, must have been put upon the alert by this operation, since they sent on the

same day a general officer as a flag of truce, under some pretext or other, which I do not now recollect; but, in reality, to ascertain what we were doing in the island. The flag of truce was brought into the presence of the Emperor, who ordered the handkerchief to be removed from his eyes, and said to him, "I suspect, Sir, the motive for which you have been sent here; so much the worse for your general, if he does not know that I am to cross the Danube to-morrow with the troops you now behold. I have here a hundred and eighty thousand men: the days are long: woe betide the vanquished! I cannot allow you to return to your army; you shall be conducted to your family in Vienna, and have to wait there the issue of the event about to take place."

It was known to the Emperor that this general, whose name was Wolf, was the brother of Madame de Kaunitz, one of the ladies who had not had time to quit Vienna on our approach, and he had him accordingly taken to her residence.

It is quite unaccountable that the Austrian army, in the heart of their own country, should have been so far ignorant of our movements, as to neglect the precaution of bringing down the troops from Presburg, which place they ought to have left on the 2nd July at latest. Fortune, however, rewarded the activity and exertions of the Emperor, and decided that his army should be the first in readiness to act. The island of Lobau was a second valley of Jehosaphat: men who had been six years asunder, met here on the bank of the Danube for the first time since that long separation. The troops of General Marmont, which had arrived from Dalmatia, were composed of corps that had been out of our sight since the days of the camp at Boulogne.

All was in readiness in the afternoon of the 4th July; and yet no unusual movement was perceivable on the opposite bank. The day was no sooner closed than the Emperor, who had mounted his horse, superintended in person the operations towards the right, where General Oudinot's corps was sta-

tioned. Every thing was so well prepared, that in an instant the bridge was thrown across; the troops comprising that corps passed over, and occupied the point which they were directed to carry. I have omitted to state that, on the morning of the 4th, a second bridge, intended for the corps of Marshal Massena, was thrown across at about two hundred toises below the one which had been used for the first passage. The Austrians cannonaded this bridge the whole day, without doing injury to a single man or boat. This bridge had been constructed with the materials which remained on our hands after every other work had been completed.

As soon as the bridge intended for the corps of General Oudinot was firmly established, the Emperor ordered the three bridges to be thrown across which had been kept together in the sewer I have lately mentioned. As the corps of sailors was no longer required for the preservation of the great bridge of boats, the services of the men had been applied to these several bridges; so that we were not at a loss for hands in any quarter.

The bridge of a single piece was brought out first, being preceded by a small skiff manned by athletic pontoniers. They were provided with an anchor, which they carried over to the opposite bank, and along which other pontoniers hauled the bridge upon which they were mounted. The tackling which was to secure it had been prepared beforehand, and nothing more was now to be done than to make it fast at both ends; a business altogether so well managed, that, ten minutes after the bridge had been brought out of the sewer, the troops were already crossing it.

The two other bridges were thrown over at the same moment, but took a little longer to get in readiness: these operations, however, succeeded at the appointed time. The enemy had at first scarcely perceived them. A violent storm came on that night, which completely drenched every one; and the guards had taken shelter from the rain, which fell in

torrents, and with so much violence, that no work would have been done had not the Emperor been present to stimulate the men. He was on foot on the river side listening to what was going forward on the opposite bank, and looking in person after the pontoniers, who, however, recognised him in the dark: he was as much drenched as if he had been dipped in the Danube. To this storm, accompanied with lightning and thunder, was added the loud roar of that immense artillery which lined the batteries along the river: they kept up for two hours a continual discharge of balls, howitzers, and grape-shot against the enemy's shore; by which means our troops were enabled to effect a landing without encountering the slightest obstacle.

When all the bridges had been thrown across the Emperor gave directions for the troops to pass; and whilst they were filing off he retired to take a little rest, having been the whole night on horseback exposed to that heavy storm. He had only with him the Viceroy of Italy, the Prince of Neufchatel, and myself. Shortly afterwards, towards five o'clock in the morning, he again mounted his horse, crossed over to the left bank, and began to remodel the order of battle of his army, which, after it had crossed over, was arranged as follows:

Massena on the left, with Molitor, Boudet, Legrand, and Carra-Saint-Cyr under his orders.

Bernadotte, with the Saxons, on his right; Oudinot, again on the right of the latter; and, lastly, Marshal Davout on the extreme right, with Friant, Gudin, and Morand's division.

In the second line was the Viceroy on the left, with the four divisions of the army of Italy; and Marmont, with two divisions, on his right.

The reserve was formed of the foot-guards, consisting of six regiments.

In the third line came the cavalry, composed of four divisions of light-horse, three of dragoons, and three of cuirassiers; the guards, forming four regiments, and the Saxon cavalry.

The first movement made by this immense army after having accomplished the passage, that is to say, at the hour of ten in the morning, was to alter its front on its extreme left wing, and bring the right wing forward. This movement took up a considerable time. The right had upwards of two leagues to march before it could come into line. The Emperor was constantly going to and fro to reconnoitre the ground whilst his army was coming to its position, and he travelled that day over an incredible extent of ground. He was still in his wonted sound health, and could remain on horseback any length of time without experiencing any fatigue. Out of seventy-two hours of the 4th, 5th, and 6th July, he was at least sixty hours on horseback. It was two o'clock in the afternoon before his army could complete its movement, or he could make it march forward. He expected to meet some obstacles in the plain on the other side of the Danube, such as closed redoubts, which would have prevented his columns from deploying; instead of which, every thing retreated before him, and he did not lose a single man on the only occasion when he might have been attacked with advantage, which was at the passage of the bridges. He expressed his astonishment at not finding the Austrian army, and at being thus allowed to overcome so many difficulties without any resistance being offered to him. We were not yet quite certain of the determination taken by the Archduke's army at Presburg. The Emperor had calculated upon the probability of its having rejoined the Archduke Charles, whom he supposed acquainted with the fact of his having crossed the Danube. As soon as the army was in readiness, he made it march forward; and it was four o'clock in the afternoon before he could come in sight of the Austrian army, which had not stirred from its position at Wagram.* We then learned, for the first time, that it

* The greater part of the military states of the first order have had engineers who have busied themselves in taking down the topography of the environs of the metropolis, and have accompanied their reconnoitring with a statement of the mode

had not been joined by the corps which was at Presburg. As, however, such a junction could not now be effected without going a great way round, the Emperor no longer bestowed a thought upon that corps, but bent his whole mind upon directing the attack against the Archduke Charles, whose position, however excellent in other respects, was too extended not to present some weak points to his assailant.

Towards six o'clock in the evening the cannonading commenced in the centre of the two armies; our right was still advancing, because the enemy's left yielded a little ground, so that the night passed over without any important occurrence. Our left had a trifling encounter with the enemy's right; the only object on either side was to take up a position for the next day. In the centre, however, matters took a more serious turn: the Emperor, seeing the hostile army so near, attempted to debouch by the centre, in order to reach, if possible, the plateau upon which the Austrian army was stationed,

of defence to be adopted, in the form of a plan of campaign, wherein they point out the position to be taken up in case of an invasion of enemies, who might succeed in reaching the heart of the monarchy. They have foreseen every thing, and given advices applicable to all circumstances. The statements are accompanied with splendid plans, in which the encampment of each corps is pointed out; the positions of the main-guard and of the sentinels, and the smallest details of a camp establishment, are laid down according to the strict rules of art; but those clever men have, as usual, forgotten one thing, viz. to point out the position which the enemy would occupy.

We found in the imperial cabinet of Vienna a valuable production as a topographical work, accompanied with a plan of defence exactly adapted to the then condition of the Austrian monarchy. The map of the environs of Vienna presented the sketch of a camp for defending the passage of the Marche, by taking up a position at Schloshoff, and the sketch of a second camp exactly agreeing with the position taken at Wagram by the Archduke Charles. The Austrian engineer who brought forth this fine production has not said a word of the island of Lobau, nor of six bridges thrown across in one night; and assuredly, if he could have suspected that this vast island would become a strong-hold, from whence a hundred and eighty thousand men would debouch upon the enemy, he would not have given the advice of suffering them to pass unmolested, and of waiting for them at the camp of Wagram.

and establish himself there; though he had not determined to persist unless he saw a good chance of succeeding.

The troops were allowed a moment's rest. As the point at which General Oudinot was placed was the most in advance, he was the first in readiness to commence the attack; and a division of the army of Italy was brought up to support him. The Emperor had ordered both columns to attack at the same moment; but as the division of the army of Italy had a somewhat longer march to perform, they did not ascend the plateau together. General Oudinot's division first made its appearance on the crest, from whence it was almost immediately driven back, and compelled to retreat in great confusion; which was, however, soon repaired, by the bringing up of some cavalry to rally the soldiers, who, it should be said to their credit, instantly resumed their ranks, notwithstanding the fire of the enemy's artillery.

The division of the army of Italy was not more successful; it was headed by the 106th regiment, which had no sooner shown itself on the plateau than it was charged and driven back close under the fire of our artillery, on which occasion the regiment lost one of its eagles.

The Emperor was present when the confusion occurred, and would not follow up those attacks, because the night was approaching, and some decisive event would necessarily take place on the morrow. Experience had already told us that the loss we suffered in the evening of the 21st of May had had a powerful influence over the battle of the 22nd. The Emperor therefore ordered that a position should be taken up, and that hostilities should cease, in order that the army might pass the night undisturbed. He established his bivouac between the grenadiers and the foot-chasseurs of the guard, whom he had brought up to the first line; and he summoned to his presence, the generals who held the chief commands of the several corps, and passed a great part of the night in con-

ferring with them respecting the events likely to occur on the following day.

On the day previous to our crossing the Danube Marshal Massena had had a fall from his horse, which obliged him to be conveyed in a calash to the field of battle. The Emperor was desirous of giving him a successor, but the marshal intreated he would not: the Emperor, however, foresaw that on so busy a day Marshal Massena could not move in a calash in every direction where a horse might take him, and he placed one of his aides-de-camp by his side.

The Emperor had at first made choice of me for that purpose, and even mentioned it to me, although I had to perform M. de Caulaincourt's duties, and was much wanted near his person; but being anxious not to disoblige Marshal Massena, who would then have given up the command of his corps, he at last determined to send Reille, who had been the marshal's aide-de-camp, and was accustomed to obey him, in order that the marshal might have some confidential officer near his person.

The corps of Marshal Massena was not yet in line with us. The Emperor, on sending the marshal back to his troops, desired him to bring them up the next morning to join the grand-army.

He sent off all the general officers in succession to their respective corps: Marshal Davout alone remained with him the latter part of the night.

The plain on which the army was bivouacking was so barren of trees and houses, that not a single light was to be seen from the right to the left of it. There was great difficulty in finding a couple of trusses of straw and some fragments of doors to light a small fire for the Emperor's use: every one slept wrapped up in his cloak, and a bitter cold was felt the whole night.

I passed it on my legs near the fire, because the Emperor

had directed me to be careful that answers should be given to the officers and orderlies who, under such circumstances, go over the lines during the whole night, mostly in search of the Emperor and of the generals commanding the several corps of the army: on the eve of a battle he was mindful of the smallest details, and would not allow any one to pass without receiving the information sought for.

He slept but little that night. I had placed myself before him to screen his eyes from the blaze with the skirts of my cloak; but whether he felt cold, or that his mind was two much engaged, he was up before daylight; but he did not order the troops to arms until four o'clock in the morning of that day, the 6th of July, 1809.

CHAPTER XIII.

The enemy commence the attack—Our left is defeated—The Emperor rides twice over the lines through a shower of balls—Death of Bessières—Words spoken by the Emperor—General Reille—Macdonald—Results of the battle of Wagram—Presentiment of General Lasalle before the battle—His death.

THE enemy commenced the attack by their left bearing down upon our right, that is to say, upon the corps of Marshal Davout, which showed itself at the village of Margraff-Neusidel. From the point at which we stood, we called it the village of the Square Tower, because it has, in fact, an old feudal castle surmounted by a large square tower which is seen from every part of the plain.

I have heard that the attack upon Marshal Davout was led on by Prince John of Lichtenstein; it was sufficiently severe to satisfy us that it was no feigned enterprise of the enemy: we were justified in supposing that they contemplated to extend their front beyond our right, in order to communicate with the corps which we expected was marching from

Presburg; but whatever may have been the object they had in view, the Emperor ordered Marshal Davout to drive them back without allowing them time to recover, and he sent him the cavalry division of General Nansouty, who had with him a company of horse artillery, to enable his taking advantage of any success he might obtain. It is to be observed that the marshal had already at his disposal the division of cuirassiers of the Duke of Padua, the same that was commanded by General d'Espagne previously to the battle of Essling. The action soon commenced. The Emperor repaired to the spot, and sent in that direction all the horse and foot-guards, with the whole of his artillery, expecting every moment the appearance of the corps coming from Presburg; but he had scarcely arrived when we beheld the Austrian army in motion, retiring from the position it occupied in front of Marshal Davout, and manœuvring in an opposite direction. The Emperor ordered his guard to halt, and began to watch the enemy's motions. At this moment General Reille came up from Massena's corps, and announced to us that affairs were going on very badly in that quarter, and that not a moment was to be lost in proceeding thither, that is to say, in crossing the whole field of battle from right to left. The Emperor's first measure was to send back with General Reille the Prince of Neufchatel, who on a day of battle never spared himself, and was a keen observer of its details; and he made the guard return by the same road they had come. In order to execute this movement, its artillery, consisting of eighty pieces of cannon, opened the march. The Emperor passed along the whole army formed in battle array, and came to its left wing, which no longer existed; in other words the corps of Marshal Massena was in a complete state of dissolution, and the four divisions composing it did not present a single united body; so that the left of our army was, in reality, the Saxon corps commanded by Bernadotte, which an hour before was on Marshal Massena's right.

The following is an account of what had taken place.

Marshal Massena had manœuvred the whole morning to join the grand army. Whilst engaged in that movement, the Austrian army was considerably reinforcing its right with the view of attacking our left: the consequence was, Marshal Massena was so quickly overpowered, that there had hardly been time to consider of the means of relieving him. Whilst effecting his movement to join the Emperor, it was necessary that he should direct the village of Aderklaw to be attacked; a duty which was assigned to General Carra-Saint-Cyr's division. The 24th regiment of light infantry being at the head of the column, commenced the charge in so bold a manner that it carried the village: fortune seemed to have opened to the troops on the other side of the village of Aderklaw a broad hollow road (the one leading to Wagram), where that gallant regiment would have been almost completely under shelter. Common sense suggested its being brought into that road, which formed a natural redoubt; but owing to a serious fault of the officer in command there, the 24th regiment was made to step over the hollow road, and to station itself at the entrance of the village, where, being wholly unprotected, it had to sustain a dreadful fire of musketry, was charged after suffering a severe loss, and in the confusion of retreating, drew along with it the remainder of Saint-Cyr's division, which consisted in a great measure of allied troops, such as those from Baden, Darmstadt, and other countries.

This defeat occasioned the rout of the troops commanded by Generals Legrand and Boudet. The latter lost all his artillery: our left, in short, had become nothing more than a large opening, through which the right of the Austrian army penetrated so far, that the batteries of the island of Lobau, which had protected our passage, were under the necessity of again opening their tremendous fire, in order to stop the enemy's columns now boldly advancing towards our bridges: the enemy's right was taking up a position in a perpendicular line

to our extreme left, and compelled us to give it the form of an angle, for the purpose of returning the enemy's fire.

They had placed some pieces of artillery in such a manner as to fire upon the angle or elbow, whilst they were cannonading us on both sides of the angle.

I know not what was the Emperor's object; but he remained a full hour at that angle, which was a perfect stream of shot; and as there was no fire of musketry kept up, the soldier was becoming discouraged. The Emperor was more sensible than any one else that such a situation could not last long, and he remained there for the purpose of remedying the disorder. In the height of the danger, he rode in front of the line upon a horse as white as snow (it was called the Euphrates, and had been sent to him as a present from the Sophi of Persia). He proceeded from one extremity of the line to the other, and returned at a slow pace: it will easily be believed that shots were flying about him in every direction. I kept behind, with my eyes rivetted upon him, expecting at every moment to see him drop from his horse.

After having fully examined every thing, he completed his arrangements just as the guard had come up to this fearfully-exposed left wing.

He ordered his aide-de-camp, General Lauriston, who commanded the eighty pieces of artillery of the guard, to fire them in one compact battery upon the centre of the enemy's army.

He sent in the rear of that battery the division of the young guard, commanded on this occasion by General Reille, who had been previously with Marshal Massena. He placed himself on Lauriston's left, and to the right of that battery; and directed the two divisions of the army of Italy, under Marshal Macdonald's orders, to move forward.

Those three masses advanced in the direction of Aderklaw, and were followed by the cavalry of the guard, of which the Emperor only kept with him the regiment of horse-grenadiers.

The rest of the cavalry was sent to arrest the right of the Austrians in their advance.

The Emperor had ordered that, as soon as the opening which he intended to make in the enemy's centre should have been effected, the whole cavalry should charge, and wheel round upon all the troops that had penetrated to the extremity of our left: he had just given directions, in consequence, to Marshal Bessières;* and the latter had barely started to execute them, when he was knocked down by the most extraordinary cannon-shot ever seen: a shot in full sweep tore his breeches open from the top of the thigh to the knee, running along the thigh in a zigzag form, as if it had been a thunderbolt; he was so suddenly thrown off his horse, that we fancied he had been killed on the spot: the same shot forced the barrel from his pistol, and carried off both barrel and stock. The Emperor had also seen him fall; but not recognising him at first, had asked, "Who is it?"—(this was his usual expression)—"Bessières, Sire," was the reply. He instantly turned his horse round, saying, "Let us go, for I have no time to weep; let us avoid another scene"—(he alluded to the regret he had felt at the loss of Marshal Lannes). He sent me to see if Bessières was still alive: he had just been carried off the ground, and had recovered his senses, having merely been struck in the thigh, which was completely paralysed.

This untoward cannon-shot left the cavalry without a leader, during the most important quarter of an hour in the day, which was to have an immense influence over the battle. Immediately after the accident the Emperor sent me with an order for General Nansouty to charge whatever troops were before him; these were the Austrian right, which had formed into a solid mass. Nansouty's division had six regiments, including the two of carbineers; behind him was General Saint-Sulpice's division, composed of four regiments.

* He had the command of all the cavalry.

I found him in a very unpromising situation; he was exposed to a very destructive cannonade. On receiving the order to charge, he prepared to obey it, and started off at a trot; but the firing of the Austrians was so warmly kept up, that it stopped the division, who suffered a loss of twelve hundred horses killed on the spot; it would not have lost more had it made a full charge: a course which, if practicable, would have been attended with immense results, as it would have occasioned the surrender of a great part of the Austrian right. In the meanwhile, the artillery of the guard was making a dreadful havoc amongst the enemy's centre, such as might have been expected from eighty pieces of cannon, all twelve and eight-pounders, served by picked artillerymen. The troops of General Reille advanced upon Aderklaw; and General Macdonald, who was on the right of that battery, gave to the whole army an admirable example of personal courage, by marching at the head of his two divisions, formed in columns, and leading them, under a shower of balls and grape-shot, up to the very lines of the enemy, at a slow pace, without their falling into the least confusion.*

The firing of cannon and the march of Macdonald forced an opening in the centre of the enemy, and separated their right from the rest of the army. The Emperor, who was present on the ground, was again anxious that the cavalry should take advantage of so fine an opportunity: he sent an order to the guards to charge; but whether the order was incorrectly reported or not, it was not carried into effect, and that immense and splendid cavalry did not take a single man; whilst, if it had been led on by a bold and resolute officer,

* On the several days following that of the battle General La Riboissiere, who commanded the artillery of the army, being in want of shot, issued a general order that he would pay five sols for every cannon-shot picked up on the field of battle, and brought to the park of artillery. I have it from himself that of Austrian shots alone, twenty-five thousand were brought in. It may well be supposed that one-half could not be found.

it could not have failed to make many prisoners. A particular opportunity offered at one time for taking one-fourth at least of the Austrian army. We greatly regretted on this occasion the absence of the Grand-duke of Berg; he was the very man we wanted at so critical a moment.

The Emperor was greatly displeased with the cavalry; and he said on the field of battle, "It never served me in this manner before; it will be the cause of this battle not being attended with any result." He retained in consequence, for a long time, a feeling of rancour against the generals who commanded the cavalry regiments of his guard, and he would have made an example of them, had he had not taken into consideration some old and valuable services they had previously rendered.

Notwithstanding so many faults, the battle was decided in our favour: at half-past two in the afternoon the enemy's right had retreated, and was endeavouring to join the main army by avoiding the opening we had made in its centre. On our right, Marshal Davout had ascended the plateau of Margraff-Neusidel, and succeeded in maintaining his ground.

The Emperor ordered Wagram to be attacked by Oudinot's corps, supported by the other two divisions of the army of Italy. That column also penetrated into the position of the Austrians, and maintained itself there the whole evening. The enemy retreated at all points towards four o'clock, abandoning the field of battle to us, but without leaving any prisoners or cannon behind, and after having fought in a manner calculated to instil a cautious conduct into any man disposed to deeds of rashness. They were followed, though at a respectful distance; for they had not been forced, and we were not at all anxious to drive them to the necessity of resuming their order of battle until we should have succeeded in detaching some portion from the main body: Marshal

Massena's corps had re-organised itself, and resumed its former position.

Although the triumph of our arms was beyond question, we did not urge the pursuit so far as the road leading from Vienna to Brême. The Austrians marched the whole night, and retired by the road from Vienna to Znaim, and by the cross road of Wolkersdorf, also towards the town of Znaim. The Emperor slept on the field of battle, in the midst of his troops. His tent was scarcely pitched when an alarm spread in an instant throughout the army, which it had wellnigh thrown into disorder: it was created by marauders, who, having wandered too far, were pursued by bodies of cavalry belonging to the Archduke Ferdinand's army, which had reached the river Marche, and was no doubt endeavouring to open a communication with the grand army. The soldiers ran to arms in all directions, but the alarm soon subsided.

Thus ended the memorable action of Wagram, the results of which on the field of battle were not commensurate with the prodigious labours and the scientific conceptions which had preceded the immediate arrangements for the conflict. The army stood in need of some of those men accustomed to turn success to the utmost advantage, and to carry off whole bodies of troops at a decisive crisis. The Emperor alone did every thing; by his presence he checked the disorder at the moment of the catastrophe that befel our left wing.

The whole population of Vienna ascended the roofs of the houses and the ramparts, from whence it witnessed the battle: in the morning the ladies of that city were flushed with the hope of our defeat, which changed to a general gloom towards two in the afternoon. The retreat of the Austrian army was as plainly distinguished as it could have been from the field of battle.

The Austrian army successfully resisted our attacks at almost every point: it was extremely numerous, and ought to

have been joined by the army at Presburg. Although it was in a great measure composed of the landwehr, who were indifferently trained to war, on two remarkable circumstances of the battle it ought to have acted more judiciously than it did. In the first place, the enemy ought not to have abandoned the attack made upon our right at the beginning of the action; by persisting in that attack, they would have prevented the grand retrograde movement of the troops which we transferred from our right to our left wing. In the second place, they ought to have followed up the success obtained by their right over the corps of Massena, and brought their centre fully into play, without allowing us time to move to the point where Massena was stationed a hundred pieces of cannon, and as many squadrons, with three fresh divisions of infantry, which repaired our disasters in that quarter. The Austrian army had no cause to retreat; it was in greater strength than we were, since a third of our army consisted of foreign troops, the amalgamation of which with our own was attended with many disadvantages. It thought proper, however, to retire from the field; and no doubt felt itself unable to run the risk of further events, of the result of which it no longer entertained any sanguine hopes.

The Emperor was going over the field of battle the same evening when intelligence was brought to him of the death of General Lasalle, who had just been killed by one of the last musket-shots fired before the final retreat of the enemy. That general had had, in the morning, a strange presentiment of the fate that awaited him. The acquisition of glory had been an object of much greater solicitude to him than the advancement of his fortune; but, on the night previous to the battle, he seems to have had the fate of his children strongly impressed upon his mind, and he awoke to draw up a petition to the Emperor in their behalf, which he placed in his sabre-tasche. When the Emperor passed in the morning

in front of his division, General Lasalle did not address him; but he stopped M. Maret, who was a few paces behind, and told him that, never having asked any favour of the Emperor, he begged he would take charge of the petition which he then handed to him, in case any misfortune should befall him; a few hours afterwards he was no more.

The Emperor was but indifferently pleased with the result of the battle of Wagram; he would have desired a repetition of Marengo, of Austerlitz, or of Jena, and nothing on his part was left undone towards obtaining the object of his wishes; but he was so far foiled that the Austrian army was unbroken; it retreated to take up another position, which would again call for new exertions of his mind to bring about an engagement attended with a more signal result. That army, moreover, might succeed in effecting a junction with the army which was on its march from Presburg; whilst we, on the contrary, had no reinforcements whatever to expect. We were but too well aware that no dependence was to be placed upon the Russian army: the only point we had gained in respect to it was, that it would not join the Austrians at a moment which fortune did not yet appear to have marked out as the limit of her favours to us. The Russians only put *fifteen* thousand men in motion, whose co-operation was confined to an attempt to get the start of the Polish troops at Cracow; a movement which never appeared to the Emperor in any other than a suspicious light.

The signal events of a war are always followed by a moral effect, upon which public opinion, for or against either of the contending parties, is generally formed; the battle of Essling had turned the tide of opinion against us; that unfavourable impression was destroyed by the battle of Wagram, which, to a certain extent, reinstated us in the public mind. This favourable change, slow in pronouncing itself so long as any doubt hung over the reality of our success, was confirmed by the fact of our following the Austrian army in its retreat.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Emperor goes in search of the wounded—His expressions at beholding a colonel killed on the preceding day—The quarter-master of the regiment of carbineers—Words addressed by the Emperor to Macdonald—Bernadotte—Secret order of the day issued by the Emperor in respect to that Marshal—Schwartzenburg proposes an armistice—The Emperor accepts it.

ON the following day, the 7th of July, the Emperor rode over the field of battle according to his usual practice, to see if the hospital department had caused all the wounded to be removed: as this was harvest time, the corn was very high, and it was impossible to see the soldiers lying stretched upon the ground. Many of those unfortunate wounded had placed their handkerchiefs at the end of their muskets, and held them up as a signal for assistance. The Emperor repaired in person to every spot where he perceived such signals: he addressed words of consolation to the wounded, and would not move forward until the last of them had been carried off the field. He kept no one to attend him, and ordered Marshal Duroc to have all the men picked up, and to see that the movable hospitals did not slacken their exertions. General Duroc was known for his precision and severity; the Emperor therefore often selected him for commissions of that nature.

As he was going over the field of battle, he stopped on the ground which had been occupied by Macdonald's two divisions; it exhibited the picture of a loss fully commensurate with the valour they had displayed. The Emperor recognised amongst the slain a colonel who had given him some cause for displeasure. That officer, who had made the campaign of Egypt, had misbehaved after the departure of General Bonaparte, and proved ungrateful towards his benefactor, in hopes, no doubt, of insinuating himself in the good graces

of the general who had succeeded him. On the return of the army of Egypt to France the Emperor, who had shown him many marks of kindness during the war in Italy, gave no signs of resentment, but granted him none of those favours which he heaped upon all those who had been in Egypt. The Emperor now said, on seeing him stretched upon the field of battle, "I regret not having been able to speak to him before the battle, in order to tell him that I had long forgotten every thing."

A few steps farther on, he discovered a young quarter-master of the regiment of carbineers still alive, although a shot had gone through his head; but the heat and dust had almost immediately congealed the blood, so that the brains could not be affected by the air. The Emperor dismounted, felt his pulse, and, with his handkerchief, endeavoured to clear the nostrils, which were filled with earth. He then applied a little brandy to his lips; whereupon the wounded man opened his eyes, though he appeared at first to be quite insensible to the act of humanity exercised towards him; but having again opened them, and fixed them on the Emperor, whom he now recognised, they immediately filled with tears, and he would have sobbed, had not his strength forsaken him. The wretched man could not escape death, according to the opinion of the surgeons who were called to his assistance.

After having gone over the ground where the army had fought, the Emperor went to place himself in the midst of the troops, which were beginning to move for the purpose of following the retreating enemy. On passing by Macdonald, he stopped, and held out his hand to him, saying, "Shake hands, Macdonald! no more animosity between us: we must henceforward be friends; and, as a pledge of my sincerity, I will send you your marshal's staff, which you so gloriously earned in yesterday's battle." Macdonald had been in a kind of disgrace for many years: it would be difficult to assign any reason for it, except the intrigue and jealousy to which an

elevated mind is always exposed. Malevolence had succeeded in prevailing upon the Emperor to remove him from his presence; and his innate pride of heart had prevented his taking any step to be reconciled to a sovereign who did not treat him with that kindness to which he felt he had a claim.

Years of glory were passing by, and Macdonald took no share in what was going forward, when the declaration of war of 1809 decided the Emperor to give him the command of a corps under the orders of the Viceroy of Italy. Fortune crowned his constancy, and victory reinstated him in a rank which he proved himself worthy to hold at a moment when so many others appeared to do every thing to degrade it, and accordingly fell in the esteem of their countrymen.

The army took the two roads from Vienna to Znaim, and from Vienna to Brunn; the Emperor followed the latter as far as Wolkersdorf, and from thence took the cross road leading to Znaim.

He stopped at Wolkersdorf on the 7th, and wrote from thence again to the Emperor of Russia.

On the 8th he stopped in the rear of the position occupied by his troops which had already reached Znaim, where they had come up with the Austrian rear-guard.

Early in the morning of the 9th, after dispatching orders in various directions, he was taken rather seriously ill, in consequence of all his fatigues and exertions. This circumstance compelled him to indulge in a little rest whilst the troops were advancing.

Marshal Bernadotte came at that time to see the Emperor, who had left orders that no one should disturb him until he called; I therefore refused to introduce the marshal, the object of whose visit was wholly unknown to me. I had witnessed the lukewarmness which his troops had evinced in the battle: ever since the opening of the campaign, he had been incessantly complaining of want of ardour in his troops, of

their inexperience,* and of the want of confidence in their leaders.† I should therefore have exhausted every sup-

* Letter from Bernadotte to the Major-General.

"Retz, the 6th May, 1809.

"Prince,

"I have received the letter which your Highness wrote to me under date of the 30th April. As your Highness says nothing more on the subject of my remaining between Ratisbon and Bohemia, I have removed from Nabburg to Retz, and am preparing to enter Bohemia by the way of Waldmünchen. The officer in command of the small corps left by General Montbrun at Cham informs me that his advanced posts were attacked the day before yesterday at Neumarck and Waldmünchen, and compelled to fall back upon Furth and Schontal. He also acquaints me that the Austrian advanced posts at that point amount to two battalions and six squadrons, and that they have, besides these, four thousand men encamped at Klatau. Your Highness had authorised me to add Dupas' division to my corps; but that division received a counter order on the same day. Your Highness has since announced to me that, in my advance towards Ratisbon, I should meet French troops and reinforcements on the way; I have not, however, as yet received any intimation that I am to be joined by any troops; and I experience every day more and more the absolute necessity of the Saxon army being supported and stimulated into exertion by the example of somewhat better disciplined troops. This appears to me the more indispensable, as that army is destined to carry on insulated operations on the flank of the grand army. I intreat your Highness to recall his Majesty's attention to this subject, which really concerns the good of his service, and to let me know whether or not I am to rely upon any reinforcements of French troops.

"J. BERNADOTTE."

† "Camp before Lintz, the 28th May, 1809.

"Prince,

"I have just received from M. Deveau the letter which your Highness has written to me from Ebersdorf, under date 26th of May. Your Highness is by this time in the receipt of my last letter, in which I explained to you how impossible it was for me to attack the enemy. I have the honour to repeat to you, that I should conceive myself guilty of a very serious military fault were I to break up my position before Lintz. The enemy is in front of me, and on both my flanks, along the bank of the Danube. Since the affair of the 17th, General Kollowrath has received reinforcements from Bohemia, and ten thousand men have just arrived at Zuelter, who were detached from Prince Charles's army. If I more for-

position before I could have imagined that, contradicting on a sudden the unfavourable opinion he had given of their courage, he could ever dream that those troops had decided the victory we had just obtained. The Emperor was soon made acquainted with that unaccountable order of the day; he sent for the self-conceited marshal, and removed him from the command of his troops. This lesson was ineffectual; Bernadotte, who persisted in maintaining the justice of the ridiculous congratulations he had addressed to the Saxons, caused them to be inserted in the public papers. The Emperor was indignant at this conduct; being at all times inflexibly severe against every impropriety of conduct and

ward, I cannot answer for the possible event of a hostile column penetrating by the right or left to the very bridge of Lintz. Your Highness can ascertain my position by consulting the map. I have before me a country abounding in mountains, where the enemy, by throwing up barricadoes and intrenchments, may with a very small body of men dispute every inch of ground. In order, therefore, to debouch from this place with some prospect of success, it would be necessary to have a corps more numerous than the one under my orders, and especially some well-disciplined troops, and experienced generals to command the several columns. The Saxons, I must repeat, are quite incompetent to act as a separate body, and there is not one of their generals to whom I could entrust any detached operation. I request your Highness will make my situation known to the Emperor. I cannot at present undertake any offensive operation without compromising the safety of the bridge of Lintz, the possession of which I apprehend his Majesty deems to be an essential object. Had I eight or ten thousand Frenchmen under my orders I might then venture upon some operation, though I could not answer for any very signal success; I might, however, rely upon the energy and experience of those troops; but I repeat it, with the Saxons I can undertake nothing. If the enemy should attack me with the forces at his command, which are considerably more numerous than mine, I shall consider myself very fortunate in being able to retain my position. In any case, his Majesty may rely upon my doing my duty.

"J. BERNADOTTE.

"P.S. Your Highness was misinformed when told that General Kollowrath was not in front of me; such has always been his position; to-day his head-quarters are at Leonfelden, in the rear of his camps of Hirschiag and Helmansed. He is in contact with the troops at Haslach. With respect to General Jellachich, whom your Highness supposes to be on the left bank of the Danube, he was in Styria a few days ago, and was to retire by the Buren."

every act of falsehood; though he was unwilling, at the same time, to wound the feelings of men who had exposed their lives in his service. The insult, however, was such, that he felt it impossible to pass it by. He issued an order of the day, which he directed the major-general not to circulate, either amongst the army at large, or the Saxon troops, of which he had given the command to General Regnier. The following are the terms in which the letter transmitting the order to the major-general was couched:

"My Cousin,

"You will find annexed an order of the day, which you will distribute amongst the several marshals, apprising them at the same time that it is for their private information: you will not send it to General Regnier: you will forward it to the two ministers of war, and also to the King of Westphalia.

"Whereupon, &c."

"ORDER OF THE DAY.

"From our Imperial Camp at Schönbrunn, the 11th of July, 1809.

"His Majesty expresses to Marshal the Prince of Ponte-Corvo his displeasure at the order of the day from the latter, bearing date Leopoldau, the 7th of July, which has been simultaneously inserted in almost all the newspapers, and is of the following tenor:—

"'Saxons!

"'In the battle of the 5th of July, seven or eight thousand men of your nation pierced through the centre of the enemy's army, and penetrated as far as Deutsch-Wagram, notwithstanding the opposition of forty thousand men, supported by fifty pieces of cannon: you fought until midnight, and

bivouacked in the heart of the Austrian lines. On the 6th, at daybreak, the battle recommenced on your part with the same obstinacy; and in the midst of the havoc created by the hostile artillery your living columns remained as firm as brass. The great Napoleon witnessed your devoted valour; he reckons you as being amongst the number of his gallant soldiers, Saxons! the soldier's fortune consists in fulfilling his duties; you have worthily performed those that devolved upon you.

"'Bivouac of Leopoldau, the 7th of July, 1809.

"'The Marshal in command of the 9th corps,

"'BERNADOTTE.'

"Independently of the circumstance that his Majesty commands his army in person, it belongs to him alone to assign to each one the share of glory to which he may be entitled. His Majesty is indebted to the French troops, and not to any foreign soldiers, for the success of his arms. The order of the day of the Prince of Ponte-Corvo, which has a tendency to give false pretensions to troops of a secondary description, to say the least of them, is opposed to truth, to policy, and to the national honour. The success of the battle of the 5th is due to the corps of Marshals the Duke of Rivoli and Oudinot, who pierced through the enemy's centre whilst the corps of the Duke of Auerstadt was turning their left. The village of Deutsch-Wagram was not in our possession on the 5th; that village was certainly carried, but not until the 6th at noon by the corps of Marshal Oudinot. The corps of the Prince of Ponte-Corvo did not remain *as firm as brass*; it was the first to give way. His Majesty was obliged to have it protected by the corps of the Viceroy, by Broussier and Lamarque's divisions, commanded by Marshal Macdonald, by the division of heavy cavalry under the orders of General Nansouty, and by part of the cavalry of the guards. To that marshal and to his troops belongs the praise which the

Prince of Ponte-Corvo claims for himself. His Majesty desires that this expression of his displeasure may serve as an example, and prevent any marshal from attributing to himself the glory that belongs to others. His Majesty, however, directs that this order of the day, which might be painful to the Saxon army, shall be kept secret, although its soldiers are well aware that they have no title to the praises bestowed upon them; and he further directs that it shall merely be transmitted to the marshals commanding the several corps.

"NAPOLEON."

After a few hours' rest, the Emperor recovered from the indisposition which had compelled him to stop, and he immediately proceeded in the direction of Znaim, where, from the reports of the guns, he found that a sharp firing was going on.

We arrived there by cutting through the high road of communication from Znaim to Brunn, and stopped on reaching the corps of Marshal Marmont, which was engaged with the enemy's rear-guard. A storm came on, which separated for a moment the two contending parties, and broke up the roads to such a degree, that we could no longer make the artillery advance through the fat lands of Moravia.

The Emperor, who had suffered the whole night from a fever brought on by fatigue, had again all this rain upon his shoulders, it being impossible to find a single house where he might get under shelter.

Marmont had received in the morning a flag of truce from the Prince of Schwartzenburg, who covered the retreat of the Austrians, and who proposed an armistice to him. Having no authority to conclude it, Marmont could only reply that he would refer the proposal to the Emperor, but that in the meanwhile he would still follow up his operations.

The Emperor had received this intelligence previously to quitting his head-quarters, and would not give any answer

until he had personally seen the state of our affairs, and whether fortune held out the prospect of any operation likely to be attended with success.

When he arrived on the ground he discovered that the Austrians were already retreating, and that he would thenceforward be compelled to enter upon a system of complicated manœuvres, in order to compel them to fight another battle; or, in other words, that he would have to commence a fresh calculation of probable events, of chances pro and con, and again embark upon a problematical and hazardous course.

It is my firm conviction that if he could have relied upon the assistance of the Russian army, he would not have hesitated to seek a fresh opportunity of forcing the Austrians into another engagement; but the Russians paid him in fine assurances, unaccompanied by acts; and the Emperor had grounds for apprehending that if any engagement with the Austrians should turn to his disadvantage, as he was unprovided with any corps of reserve, the Russians would join them in order to complete his destruction.

A variety of considerations made him determine to conclude a war in which, very reluctantly on his part, he had been involved. It has been the fashion to represent him as a man who could not exist without going to war; and yet, throughout his career, he has ever been the first to make pacific overtures; and I have often and often seen indications of the deep regret he felt whenever he had to embark in a new contest. Previously to the first and really unexampled aggression, of which he was the object in 1805, he strongly relied upon the faith plighted to him, and could never have suspected any monarch capable of an attempt to acquire glory by such means as those which were resorted to on that occasion. He held a treaty to be inviolable so long as its conditions were strictly fulfilled; and it was not until he became convinced, on three different occasions, that crowned heads acknowledged no bounds when their power afforded

them the means of overstepping them, that he was driven to the necessity of wielding his own power against them.

I have said that he came to the determination of bringing the war to an end. With this object in view, he availed himself of the pretext of sending a reply to the Prince of Schwartzenburg's flag of truce.

He sent me with an order for General Marmont to dispatch one of his aides-de-camp to the Prince of Schwartzenburg, and to acquaint the Prince that the Emperor had just authorised him to conclude the armistice which was the subject of his communication of the same morning, provided he still had that intention, which he begged to be made acquainted with, in order that he might make his arrangements in consequence, and report to the Emperor his proceedings.

The troops were still in presence of each other when the flag of truce of General Marmont came up to the Austrians; and the Prince of Schwartzenburg, who happened to be on the spot, replied immediately that he accepted the armistice, and named commissioners to regulate the limits of the country which both armies would have to occupy: the armistice was signed the same night in the Emperor's camp, by the Prince of Neufchatel and the Austrian commissioners. Our army took up the identical position it had occupied after the battle of Austerlitz; and on the very next day each corps of troops took its departure for some cantonment, so rapid was the transition from a state of desperate warfare to profound calm. The Emperor named that very night three marshals of the empire; these were Generals Macdonald, Marmont, and Oudinot; not a question was raised respecting the first of these nominations.

The Emperor quitted the camp above Znaim, and re-established his head-quarters at the palace of Schönbrunn, where he arrived on the 10th or 11th at night; he had quitted it on the 1st or 2nd, and had led a very harassing life during the eight or nine intervening days. Notwithstanding the heavy

occupations which the affairs of the army entailed upon him, he was not inattentive to the dispatches from Paris, or to the intelligence conveyed in private letters to his officers.

CHAPTER XV.

Intelligence from Portugal—Marshal Soult—Strange rumours—English expedition to Walcheren—Capture of Flushing by the English—The national guard is rendered movable for the purpose of covering Antwerp—Fouché's conduct on the occasion—The Pope—Disturbances in Rome—That city is united to the Empire—Rising in the Tyrol—Hoffer—M. de Metternich—Prince John of Lichtenstein—Conferences for bringing about a peace—The Emperor orders the army to encamp—He reviews the several corps—Sentiments of Marshal Marmont towards the Emperor—Words addressed by Napoleon to the authorities of Brunn—Strange application of a soldier for pardon—Clemency of the Emperor.

THE battle of Essling had thrown a damp over the feelings of every one, and the hopes of intriguers at Paris having revived, they had again set to work in order to take advantage of many circumstances which they deemed calculated to promote their views.

The English, after having evacuated Spain in the month of January, returned to that country by way of Lisbon, and marched against Marshal Soult, who had advanced upon Oporto from the town of Corunna. He was compelled to abandon his artillery, and to retreat by wretched roads, and in the face of numberless obstacles, which, however, his military skill enabled him to overcome.

Certain rumours reached Schönbrunn which led to the belief that some extraordinary occurrences had taken place in that country, of which it was imagined that Marshal Soult aimed at the sovereignty: many versions of such a story

have undoubtedly been reported. A few appeared to merit attention, because the Emperor's cause was generally supposed to be desperate after the battle of Essling, and because the Grand-duke of Berg having become King of Naples, as a reward for glorious feats of arms, it might be supposed that the officers of the same rank were of a no less ambitious character. The Emperor treated the whole matter as mere folly; the rumour appeared to him quite absurd, and he laughed heartily at it. Nevertheless, he wrote to Marshal Soult, *that he only retained a recollection of Austerlitz,** because his name had been too often mentioned in the Emperor's hearing for the marshal to suppose that his sovereign had been wholly ignorant of the rumours; and he would therefore have felt uneasy at the Emperor's silence.

The Emperor never harboured a feeling of resentment against any one on the occasion to which I allude; though he certainly had the reports inquired into, the origin of which was never accurately known; he alone could have grounds for his opinion; but I never heard him advert to the subject. I have ever since had an impression upon my mind that he really bestowed more attention to those rumours than we had at first imagined, and that they were mainly instrumental in making him determine to bring the war to a close with the least possible delay.

The inquiries into this business were followed by proceedings against an officer of dragoons, who was convicted of having frequently repaired to the English army in a clandestine manner. He alleged in his defence that he had been sent there; but as he could not exhibit any proof of the allegation, he was treated as a deserter, and underwent the punishment decreed against persons guilty of that crime.

Another English expedition had just landed in the island

* Marshal Soult was the officer who, at Austerlitz, had given most satisfaction to the Emperor.

of Walcheren, at the mouth of the Scheldt. I have already mentioned that all the depôts had been ransacked for the purpose of completing the composition of the army which it was again found necessary to march into Austria; it was therefore indispensable to recur to the Dutch for the protection of the island and of the town of Flushing, which had only a weak French garrison, commanded by General Monnet, in whom the Emperor placed great confidence, although he had received many reports injurious to his character; the general having been accused of favouring contraband trade, and thereby realising a large fortune.

Flushing and the whole island of Walcheren surrendered, much to the Emperor's astonishment; from that moment he gave credit to all the reports made to him; but the mischief was without a remedy; and the only question now was to recover possession of the island, and to protect the harbour of Antwerp, which then contained a French fleet, and in the construction of which, as well as in the provisioning of that place, millions of francs had already been expended. At the same period the English succeeded in burning a French squadron of five sail of the line at anchor in the roads of L'Isle d'Aix. The Emperor was greatly displeased at the conduct of the naval department on this occasion, and said that, had the object been to render every service to the English, that department could not have acted otherwise; since common sense ought to have pointed out as a last resource the necessity of bringing the squadron under shelter in the river Charente.

It was not to be expected that he would move a body of troops from Vienna to protect that part of the frontier; added to which, peace was not yet concluded; and his army had not the advantage of numbers. In the event of the war not being brought to a termination, it would have been the height of impolicy to appear driven to such extremities.

He accordingly sent directions to France for the adoption of the measures requisite for covering Antwerp, and forming an army to oppose the English. M. Cretet, the then minister

of the interior, had just died; and the Emperor not having had time to select a person competent to replace him, had directed M. Fouché, the minister of police, to assume temporarily the duties of the ministry of the interior. There were no other means of carrying into effect the Emperor's orders than by giving a movable power to the national guard; and advantage was taken of the latitude which the Emperor had allowed for calling the national guard to arms, not only in the departments adjoining the threatened frontier, but throughout France, and even in the territory of Piedmont. The national guard of Paris was the first in readiness to march, and M. Fouché took the lead in that movement. It gave the Emperor no uneasiness, because he was in a condition to make peace, if circumstances should suggest its necessity; but he received many reports in respect to projects supposed to be entertained by the minister of police, in the event of a favourable opportunity offering for carrying them into execution. It was, in fact, a matter of great astonishment to every one that the national guard of Piedmont should be raised for the purpose of advancing to assist Antwerp against an attack intended to be made from Flushing. The Emperor was not inattentive to this circumstance, especially when M. Fouché proposed to him to bestow the command of the national guard assembling at Antwerp upon Marshal Bernadotte, who had just been removed from the army: though he made no observation on this proposal, he kept a watchful eye upon what was going forward. He had cause for displeasure in other quarters. Italy was wholly drained of troops, which had all been ordered to join the army; the recent call for a conscription had created a slight disturbance in some parts of that country; and a conciliating conduct having been found unavailing to calm the agitation, measures of coercion were resorted to, which were not attended with better success.

The Pope moreover, feeling encouraged concerning events which were greatly exaggerated to him, came to an open rupture with us. This animosity had its rise in political

circumstances of a much earlier date than the present period. The coalition of 1805 had unexpectedly taken place at a time when a corps of fifteen thousand French troops was stationed in the peninsula of Otranto. The English were cruising in the Mediterranean; the Russians were expected in Naples; the allies might from one moment to another seize upon the citadel of Ancona, which was in the direct line of our communication, and which the Pope had not placed in an attitude of defence. Napoleon requested that the sovereign pontiff would either adopt means for defending that citadel, or allow us to occupy it with a corps sufficient to protect our rear. Pius VII. refused to accede to that request, urged that he was the common father of all the faithful, and neither could nor ought to arm against any of them. France replied that there was no question of his acting against the faithful, but of his shutting heretics out of Italy; it was not long since the papal cabinet had armed; the banner of St. Peter had recently marched side by side with the Austrian eagle against France; it might therefore now march against Austria by the side of the French eagles. The Pope persisted in his determination, and welcomed all the agents of disturbances who were maintained in Italy by the coalition; circumstances grew daily more critical; it became necessary to secure our communications with Naples, and for this purpose to occupy Rome, and take possession of the marches. The conclave fulminated its threats, which were wholly disregarded. The pontifical court being allowed to give free vent to its rage, fancied that it was dreaded, and greatly raised its tone. The war with Austria having broken out, it then imagined the favourable moment had arrived, and thundered its bull of excommunication. On the news of the battle of Essling being received, the people became greatly agitated, and the Pope barricadoed himself in his palace; the French troops were braved and insulted in the streets; the spirit of exasperation had reached its height. An engagement was likely to take place from one moment to another;

and the French general was unwilling to incur the responsibility of it. He caused the Pope to be warned of the danger to which his measures of defence were calculated to expose him: his remonstrances were vain, and at last he had the sovereign pontiff carried off, to prevent the risk he might incur from a random shot or any other unforeseen accident.

The Emperor knew nothing of the event until it had occurred; and it was then too late to disown it. He approved of what had been done, established the Pope at Savona, and afterwards united Rome to the French empire, thereby annulling the donation made of it by Charlemagne. This annexation was regretted by all, because every one desired peace; an interest was felt in the Pope, for no other reason than that means were thereby afforded of injuring the Emperor.

The Emperor had long been displeased with the Roman court; it had endeavoured to foment disunion in France by sending bulls, underhand, to religious houses, although such conduct was opposed to the stipulations of the concordat. The government had been obliged to interfere in the business. Whenever any partial insurrections broke out in Italy, the clergy were suspected of being the instigators, and of acting in virtue of instructions from Rome: the determination of openly attacking it was greatly owing to that court's avowed hostility to those liberal ideas which it was attempted to establish in France and Italy; and it was considered that such open attack would be attended with less trouble than a perpetual resistance to the unceasing vexations it brought upon us wherever its influence was paramount. The object of the Emperor would have completely succeeded had he not been engaged in labours which called for his undivided attention, and prevented his bestowing upon the affairs of Rome all that consideration which they deserved. I shall have many future occasions to allude to the evils entailed upon us from that quarter, and to regret our inability to avert them.

The public mind in Germany was less agitated, though as much dissatisfied as ever: the Westphalians were taking up arms; a son of the Duke of Brunswick had raised a legion, with which he overran the country; and the Tyrolese opposed a successful resistance to the Bavarians. Nearly the whole army in that province was engaged in this insurrectionary warfare. Those mountaineers were led on by Hoffer, a Tyrolese, who was an artisan and landowner. This naturally brave and active man was urged on by the Baron d'Homayr. He induced his fellow-countrymen to rise, led them to the attack with great skill, and brought them victorious out of several encounters. Such being the Emperor's situation, he felt more embarrassment after his victory than he had done at the commencement of the campaign. He accordingly determined to take the first opportunity for coming to a treaty.

Austria had left her ambassador, Count de Metternich, at Paris; and whilst we were taking possession of Vienna, he was still at his hotel in Paris, where he was rather looked upon with an evil eye, in consequence of this war, which was considered to have originated in the reports he had made to his court. It was afterwards ascertained, however, that he had taken no more than an ordinary share in it, and had not been its instigator.

The minister of police, who had repeatedly complained of his presence in the heart of the capital, had received orders to send him to Vienna, where he had recently arrived, with an officer of gendarmerie for his escort. He had subsequently been sent to the Austrian army, in consequence of the armistice just concluded. In a short time communications were opened between the head-quarters of both armies. At first they only related, as usual, to the exchange of prisoners: these were not numerous on either side; nor do I think that, in the whole course of the campaign, we could have taken more than twenty thousand; a number not much greater than what had been taken by the Austrians. Prince John of Lichtenstein was the first com-

missioner sent on the part of the Emperor of Austria. He was always the bearer of any pacific overtures to us, though he was never behindhand when it was question of fighting.

The Emperor had a particular regard for him, and I have heard him express the desire that the Prince should be sent as ambassador to Paris; remarking, at the same time, that, if Austria were represented by a man of his turn of mind, the two countries would never be at war with each other.

I have had an opportunity of meeting that Prince at his own residence in Vienna, and in the course of our conversation, upon topics which exclusively engrossed the public attention at that time, he showed me a power he had received from the Emperor of Austria to treat for peace. Though expressed in the short space of four lines, written on a plain sheet of letter-paper, it afforded, at least, a proof of the high favour which Prince John of Lichtenstein enjoyed in Austria, and the esteem in which he was held by his sovereign. Our Emperor also esteemed him, and had given particular directions that sentinels should be stationed at his palace of Fellerberg, near Vienna, and that no soldiers should be quartered there. These marks of attention were wholly unsolicited. I believe the subject of a definitive treaty of peace was first hinted at during the conferences respecting an exchange of prisoners. Austria was the more anxious for it, as we were a burden to the country; and we had likewise many motives for desiring it. A place of meeting was therefore soon agreed upon by both parties. M. de Metternich, and, if my memory is correct, M. de Stadion, repaired thither on the part of Austria, and M. de Champagny on our own. The place first fixed upon for the conferences was a small town named, I think, Altenburg, on the road from Presburg to Raab. This spot was selected because the Austrian grand army had, after the armistice, marched a considerable distance to its left for the purpose of effecting a junction with the army of the Archduke John in Hungary: as our own forces had remained in

their cantonments, it was quite immaterial to us at what place the conferences might be held. This meeting of plenipotentiaries, in which there was certainly a great interchange of civilities, did not appear likely to bring matters to so speedy a conclusion as had been anticipated. The first feelings of apprehension had subsided, and difficulties were already started on both sides which would soon have involved us again in the horrors of a sanguinary strife.

In the midst of all her wars, Austria possessed men of ardent imaginations; and whilst many officers were training in her camp, who waited impatiently for a renewal of the contest with France, philosophers were also springing up in her cities, who looked with extreme jealousy at the source of such repeated enterprises against a sovereign who had been the first to acknowledge the rights of nations, and who wielded a sceptre placed in his hands through the will and desire of a people who had voted him their chief by unanimous acclamation.

Men of a philosophical turn of mind, whilst they held war in abhorrence, could not withhold their censure from the aggressors, or their approbation of the conduct of him whose trophies were, nevertheless, so ruinous to their own country. Their opinions were daily gaining ground; and we had opportunities of observing how greatly Frenchmen are mistaken when they suppose that knowledge and civilization are not to be found in other nations. In countries looked upon as almost wholly uncivilised, we found more liberal, and more philosophical ideas, than in those provinces of France which have given birth to men the most celebrated for their knowledge and general information. In German philosophers we might have discovered powerful materials for agitating the public mind. The Hungarians sent deputies to us, who were directed to ascertain how far we were disposed to assist any insurrection that might take place in their country, with a view of recovering their independence.

It would also have been possible to stir up a spirit of discontent in Bohemia. All those different means of action were offered to the Emperor, who caused the several suggestions to be listened to, but refused to receive any of the deputies, although they had approached to within a short distance of his head-quarters. He was sincerely desirous of peace, and had it in his power to secure an honourable one without dismembering the Austrian monarchy. He was occasionally vexed at the plenipotentiaries for not coming to any conclusion; and under the apprehension that an attempt might again be made to dupe him, he directed the divisions of his army to encamp in the districts which they respectively occupied. He ordered at the same time a vast intrenched camp to be established in front of Vienna on the left bank of the Danube, caused the bridge upon piles to be rebuilt, which had been set on fire, and added two bridges of boats to that means of communication between the right and left banks.

A spirit of activity was again displaying itself in all directions, in order to be prepared for any event. At this period the Emperor reviewed the different corps of his army, one after the other, at their respective encampments. He began by the corps of General Marmont stationed at Krems, and was so well pleased with its appearance, that whatever favour the new marshal asked of him was immediately granted. In the intoxicating joy which he felt at being named a marshal of France, General Marmont could find no expressions strong enough to convey to the Emperor his gratitude for having been raised to the highest military rank, although he had never been on a field of battle since the affair of Marengo. This was entirely owing to accident; and he was well aware that such an exalted mark of distinction, bestowed upon him on the first occasion of his being engaged, was solely to be attributed to the Emperor's personal regard. He therefore deemed himself bound to prove by his future acts that it had been justly conferred, and not view it in the light of a reward.

for past services; since he had not yet had an opportunity of establishing his claim to so signal a favour. I recollect returning one day with Marshal Marmont from accompanying the Emperor on a hunting excursion in the park of the imperial palace of Luxembourg, at which the Emperor of Austria generally resided; we were alone in the same carriage; he spoke of nothing but his own happiness, and never ceased repeating that fortune had been most bounteous to him; he said he had no children, and would probably never have any, and consequently need not give himself much concern about amassing wealth; for if he served the Emperor with zeal, the latter would sooner or later settle upon him a revenue of perhaps a hundred thousand crowns; and if, when he became possessed of that income, the Emperor would allow him to live near his person, as one of his oldest friends, he should feel proud to devote his life to his service, and to do at all times whatever would be most conducive to the glory of his sovereign. Nothing appeared more noble than this effusion of feelings.

The Emperor proceeded from Krems towards Brunn, for the purpose of reviewing the corps of Marshal Davout, which was principally encamped on the old field of battle of Austerlitz.

He alighted at the same place where he had resided on his visit to Brunn in 1805, and admitted to his presence the authorities of the province, who took advantage of that opportunity to solicit some relief from the burdens imposed upon them. The following was the Emperor's answer:—"Gentlemen, I am well aware of the extent of your sufferings; I join with you in lamenting the evils entailed upon the people by the conduct of your government; but I can afford you no relief. Scarcely four years have elapsed since your sovereign pledged his word, at no great distance from this spot, and after the battle of Austerlitz, that he would never take up arms against me. I trusted that a perpetual peace was cemented between us; and I have not to accuse myself of

having violated its conditions. Had I not firmly relied upon the protestations of sincerity which were then made to me, rest assured I should not have retired as I did from the Austrian territories. Monarchs forfeit the rights which have been vested in them by the public confidence, from the moment that they abuse those rights, and draw down such heavy calamities upon nations."

One of the members of the deputation raised his voice in justification of his master, and ended his reply in these words: "Nothing shall detach us from our good Francis."

"You have not rightly understood me, Sir," sharply rejoined the Emperor, "or you have formed a wrong interpretation of what I merely laid down as a general axiom. Did I speak of your relaxing in your affection for the Emperor Francis? Far from it; be true to him under any circumstances of good or bad fortune; but, at the same time, you should suffer without murmuring; by acting otherwise you would be reproaching him as the author of your sufferings."

After dismissing the public authorities, he proceeded to inspect the citadel of Brunn, which he had ordered to be provisioned and placed in a proper state of defence. As he was making his round of the citadel, he saw a string hanging from one of the gratings of the prison, with a piece of paper at the end of it, upon which were written these words: "Pardon! pardon!" The Emperor directed me to ascertain what this meant; and upon my making a report to him, he gave orders that the soldier who was confined in that prison should be brought forward at his review of Marshal Davout's corps on the following day. He then inspected all the positions he had occupied in 1805, and recognised every road and by-path as correctly as if they had been in the vicinity of St. Cloud.

The next morning he visited the position he had occupied on the eve of the battle of Austerlitz, ascended the raised work which protected our left, and returned to the rising ground where his bivouac had been established on the night

previous to the battle. He had the corps of Marshal Davout placed in the same order in which the corps of Marshals Lannes and Soult had been ranged previously to the commencement of the action, and reviewed it in that position, one regiment after another, according to his custom, going through the ranks of every company, and examining every soldier. He came to the regiment to which that soldier belonged who had sued for pardon on the preceding day. The Emperor was on foot: as he approached the company of grenadiers, he stopped in front of the soldier, who was on the colonel's right hand: he bent his knee to the Emperor, who asked the meaning of it. The colonel replied that this was the soldier who had implored his pardon in the citadel on the preceding day. The Emperor, who had already forgotten the transaction, asked a few questions, and inquired into the nature of the case. This unfortunate man had, in a moment of intoxication, raised his hand against his superior officer, and was to be tried by a council of war, which would have sentenced him to death. "Is he a gallant fellow?" asked the Emperor in a loud tone of voice: "Yes, Sire," replied all the grenadiers at once: he is an excellent soldier; we know him well; he will never remain behind when any fighting is going on." Upon this assurance, the Emperor came up to the soldier, who was still in a kneeling posture, took hold of him by the ears, and shaking him with an air of mixed kindness and severity, said: "How is it that thou, who art a good soldier, couldst be guilty of such improper conduct? Tell me what would have become of thee had my arrival been delayed by a single day." He then slapped him on the cheeks, and said to him: "Go back to thy company, and never forget this lesson." The cry of "Long live the Emperor!" immediately burst forth from every part of the regiment. The warmth of those acclamations exceeds all belief. It is no wonder that such maddening joy should possess the troops as he passed by them. He allowed them to say what they pleased when they were suffering privations; and yet

they were always ready to exert their utmost endeavours in his service, so electric was the effect created by his presence.

The review of this corps lasted till a very late hour, and it was night before the Emperor re-entered Brunn. All the generals dined with him on that occasion. He put this question to them in conversation: "This is the second time that I visit the field of battle of Austerlitz: shall I have to come to it again?"

"Sire," rejoined the officers, "who would venture to assert the contrary, after the events which we are daily witnessing?"

He left Brunn the next morning, proceeded along the bank of the river Marche to Marcheck, taking Goding on his way, and re-entered Vienna after having gone over the field of battle of Wagram.

CHAPTER XVI.

Grand parades at Schönbrunn—The Emperor is in danger of being assassinated—Particulars relating to the assassin—The Emperor summons him to his presence—His conversation with the young fanatic—Favours conferred on the 15th of August—Intelligence of the state of affairs in Spain—The Emperor's reflections on the subject.

A FEW days after that excursion the Emperor proceeded to review the Saxon troops, who had their head-quarters at Presburg, and returned through Raab and along the course of the river of the same name, passing also by the place where the diplomatic conferences were held, and giving a short audience to the plenipotentiaries engaged in them. On his arrival at Vienna, after thus reviewing a great part of the cantonments of the army, he continued to urge the completion of the

military works; and every thing went on as if the armistice had been broken off; a result which was generally apprehended, as nothing had transpired since the opening of the conferences that was at all calculated to quiet the public mind.

The Emperor held every day in the court-yard of the palace of Schönbrunn a grand parade, where he ordered all the men to be brought before him who left the hospitals, as well as the regiments that had most suffered in action, that he might personally ascertain if they were taken care of, and if the ranks were again filling up. Many people were attracted to those parades by motives of curiosity, and had come on purpose from Vienna to witness that imposing sight.

He took care that those military ceremonies should be attended by all the generals and administrators of the army, who might be within a reasonable distance; and on such occasions he strictly inquired into the causes of the non-execution of any orders he might have issued.

A disastrous event had very nearly taken place at one of those reviews which has been construed in many absurd ways. The Emperor was passing some regiments of the line in review in the court of the palace of Schönbrunn towards the end of September: those parades were always attended by an immense concourse of people; and sentinels were stationed at a certain distance from each other to keep off the crowd.

The Emperor had just descended the flight of steps leading out of the palace, and was crossing the court-yard on his way to the right of the regiment forming the first line, when a young man of genteel appearance sprang from the crowd, in the midst of which he had been waiting the Emperor's arrival, came up to him, and asked permission to speak. As he only explained himself in broken French, the Emperor told General Rapp, who stood by, to inquire what the young man wanted. General Rapp came up, but not understanding

what he said, he considered him as a troublesome petitioner, and desired the officer of gendarmerie on duty to remove him. This officer called one of his subalterns, and had the young man removed from the circle without taking any further notice of him. The subject was no longer thought of, when, just as the Emperor was returning to the right of the line of troops, the same youth, who had gone round the crowd, rushed out at another point, and again came up to address the Emperor, who replied to him, "I cannot comprehend what you say—speak to General Rapp." The man held his right hand in his breast, as if to draw out a petition, when the Prince of Neufchatel, taking him by the arm, said to him, "You are importunate, sir; you have been desired to speak to General Rapp." During this interval of time the Emperor had advanced ten paces along the front of the troops, and Rapp had followed him. The Prince of Neufchatel therefore told the officer of gendarmerie to lead the man out of the circle, and prevent his again importuning the Emperor.

The officer of gendarmerie was vexed at being thus under the necessity of sending this man away for the second time. He had him treated rather roughly by the gendarmes; one of whom, on seizing him by the collar, discovered that he kept something concealed in his breast, close to which was found a large new kitchen knife, the blade of which was wrapped up in a scabbard made of several sheets of brown paper, sewed together with coarse thread. The gendarmes took him to my quarters, whilst one of them went in search of me. His history may be summed up in a few words.

This youth was the son of a Protestant minister at Erfurt: he was not more than eighteen or nineteen years of age, and had a most effeminate countenance: he had undertaken to kill the Emperor, because he was told that the other sovereigns would never make peace with him; and as the Emperor's power predominated over theirs, he saw no other means for his

country to be soon at peace except by dispatching the Emperor.

He was asked what were the books he usually read.—"History," he replied; "and of all those I have read, nothing has so much excited my emulation as the life of the Virgin of Orleans, because she had freed France from the yoke of her enemies; and I felt desirous of imitating her example."

He had left Erfurt of his own accord, taking with him a horse belonging to his father, which he had been under the necessity of selling on the road in order to supply his wants; and he had written to his father not to be uneasy about the horse; that he had made use of it in order to accomplish a journey which he had undertaken to perform; adding, that his name would shortly be heard of. He had stayed two days in Vienna, in order to obtain information respecting the Emperor's habits, and had already been at the parade on a former occasion to rehearse his part, and fix upon the spot where he should station himself. He then went to a cutler, where he purchased the enormous kitchen knife found upon him, and returned to the parade for the purpose of carrying his design into effect.

Whilst the young man was making this acknowledgment to me the soldiers on parade were filing off, and I did not overtake the Emperor until he had returned to his closet, where I informed him of the danger to which he had unsuspectingly been exposed. General Rapp had already told him of it, and he refused to credit the report until I exhibited the knife seized upon the man's person; when he said, with a half-suppressed smile, "Ah! there must be something in the matter; send for the young man; I wish to see him."

He retained near his person the general officers who had attended the parade, and who were still in the apartments of the palace, and was speaking to them of this adventure when I came up with the youth. The Emperor, on first seeing him,

exclaimed, in a tone of compassion, "Oh! the thing is quite impossible.; this is but a lad." He then asked him if he knew the Emperor. "Yes, Sire," replied the stranger, with the utmost composure.

The Emperor.—"Where, then, have you seen me?"

Reply.—"At Erfurt, Sire, last spring."

The Emperor.—"Why did you wish to assassinate me?"

Reply.—"Because, Sire, your genius soars far above that of your enemies, and has rendered you the scourge of our country."

The Emperor.—"But I did not begin the war; why do you not kill the aggressor? there would be less injustice in your doing so."

Reply.—"I admit, Sire, that your Majesty is not the author of the war; but as you are always stronger and more successful than all the other sovereigns put together, it was much easier to kill you than to kill your enemies, who exceed you in point of numbers, though they are less to be feared, because your talents are of a higher order."

The Emperor.—"How would you have tried to kill me?"

Reply.—"I intended to ask you *if we should soon* have peace; and if you had not answered my question, I should have plunged the knife in your heart."

The Emperor.—"But the officers who surround *me* would have arrested your arm before you could have struck me, and they would have torn you to pieces."

Reply.—"I was aware of that, but was fully prepared to die in the attempt."

The Emperor.—"If I were to order you to be set at liberty would you return to your parents, and abandon your project?"

Reply.—"Yes, Sire, if we had peace; but, if the war continued, I should carry it into effect?"

The Emperor summoned to his presence Doctor Corvisart, who had lately been ordered from Paris to Vienna, where he

had just arrived. As he happened to be at that moment in the Emperor's apartments, he made him come in, and without explaining any thing beforehand, desired him to feel the young man's pulse, and asked in what condition he found it. M. Corvisart replied, that the pulse beat rather quick, but that the man was in good health; and that his state of agitation was only the effect of a slight nervous emotion. "Well, then," said the Emperor to him, "this youth has just accomplished a journey of a hundred leagues for the purpose of killing me." He then related what had taken place.

The wretched young man was taken back to Vienna, brought before a council of war, and executed. He had been thrown into prison at Vienna, when the Emperor took his departure for Paris without issuing any order respecting him. Such details did not concern him; and the authorities who delivered up Vienna to the Austrians sent the young man before a military commission, and exhibited to the court the documents against him. It would have been a hazardous experiment to let him loose again upon society.

This singular adventure alarmed many a reflecting mind: it was seen how great had been the chance of its terminating fatally, and an apprehension was therefore entertained that other persons would be found to follow the example of this fanatic young man. The affair, however, like every thing else in life, was soon forgotten.

Nevertheless, it became the topic of conversation in Vienna. Many persons spread the report of its having extensive ramifications, and with difficulty they could be brought to believe that it had emanated from the disordered imagination of a youth.

When the Emperor had restored his army to as good a condition as it was susceptible of after so arduous a campaign, he caused it to perform repeated manœuvres, in order to keep up in the minds of the inhabitants a moral opinion of its strength, which would have been useful to his views if it had

been found necessary to recommence hostilities. The Emperor being at Vienna on the 15th August, 1809, named on that day the Prince of Neufchatel Prince of Wagram, Marshal Massena Prince of Essling, and Marshal Davout Prince of Eckmuhl. He raised to the title of dukes the ministers of war, justice, finances, and foreign affairs (Messrs. Clarke, Regnier, Gaudin, and Champagny), as well as M. Maret, secretary of state. Marshals Macdonald and Oudinot were likewise created dukes of Tarentum and of Reggio.

On the same day, being the anniversary of the Emperor's birthday, a *Te Deum* was sung in the metropolitan church of Vienna, at which the generals of his army, as well as the magistrates of the city, were present.

Public report, and the English newspapers in particular, had communicated the news of a battle fought in Spain between our army and the English forces, the result of which was stated to have been in favour of the latter. We were in daily expectation of the courier who was to bring the official accounts and details of the engagement; but the Emperor's impatience could not for some time be allayed, owing to the difficulties which impeded the communications between Madrid and Bayonne. We had to wait a full fortnight before the arrival of M. Carrion de Nisas, who was the bearer of the intelligence: he was present at the battle, and was well informed of whatever related to our affairs in that quarter.

The Emperor was much discomposed on hearing the details which he furnished, and openly said that, although his best troops were in Spain, the movements in that country had been a series of blunders. The following particulars were related to me respecting that campaign, of which I cannot speak as an eye-witness.

After his failure at Oporto, Marshal Soult had retreated by Guimaraens, Montelegno, and Orense, to Lugo, where he formed a junction with Marshal Ney, who had evacuated

Corunna, and collected his scattered forces. He had been compelled to follow that road, and to pass through Amarante and Chaves, because the English had given a greater extent to their line.

Those English troops were a large detachment from the army of Lord Wellington, who, during the operation of this detached body, was ascending the valley of the Tagus with the remainder, whilst a Spanish army was advancing upon Toledo through La Mancha.

Marshals Soult and Ney having formed a junction at Lugo, and concerted together, they agreed to make a combined movement upon Orense, in order to defeat the English, and disperse the bands of insurgents who had already joined them.

They accordingly marched upon Orense; but, previously to reaching it, Marshal Soult took to the left, and proceeded to Sanabria. Marshal Ney alleged that he had not been apprised of this change of plan, which placed him in a critical position, having only been casually informed of it. Marshal Soult insisted that he had communicated his intention to him. It is difficult to refuse credit to either assertion; but it is not to be presumed that Marshal Soult would have taken pleasure in exposing Marshal Ney to any danger: it is much more probable that the officer or orderly who was the bearer of the information was taken prisoner on the road.

Be this as it may, Marshal Ney followed the movement of Marshal Soult, by evacuating the whole of Galicia; and both corps crossed the Exla at Saint-Cebrian, on their way to Zamora. They then advanced through Salamanca to Placentia, where they were joined by the corps of Marshal Mortier, which had just arrived from Valladolid.

The three corps were united at Placentia when Lord Wellington, who had ascended the valley of the Tagus, moved upon Talavera de la Reina with his whole army. On the first report of his approach the King had left Madrid with Marshals Jourdan and Victor, and the corps of troops

commanded by General Sebastiani. This army advanced against the Spaniards on the road from Madrid to Toledo, and against the English on the road from Madrid to Talavera.

The King communicated his movement to the marshals united at Placentia, and ordered them to descend into the valley of the Tagus. Whether this order came too late, or he had been too precipitate in his movement against the English army, the advantages anticipated by such a manœuvre were not realised. He withdrew as many of the troops under General Sebastiani's orders in front of the Spanish army as could be spared, added them to the corps commanded by Marshals Jourdan and Victor in the direction of Talavera, and made an ill-judged attack upon the English army, which was placed in a situation the most advantageous we could desire for our own views if the troops at Placentia could have taken part in the engagement; whereas it was fought with the troops just arrived from Madrid. The heights were warmly contested; a heavy loss was incurred on both sides, and no result whatever was obtained. The King's army, no longer calculating upon an attack being made by the three marshals who were at Placentia, fell back for the purpose of joining the corps opposed to the Spaniards, and of covering Madrid.

The English army was compelled to retreat the next day, having been apprised of the advance of the army of the *three* marshals, which had quitted Placentia, and might be beforehand with it, not only at the bridge of Almaraz, but at the bridge of Arzobispo, both which, the latter in particular, were the only points by which General Wellington could effect his retreat.

He ought not to have been attacked until our troops were ready to occupy them, at the moment of presenting himself to recross the Tagus: no inconvenience could indeed have resulted from allowing the attack to be first made by the three marshals, and being in readiness at the same time to follow the English army in the retrograde movement it would have

been compelled to make for the purpose of protecting its point of retreat. It might then have been induced, and even compelled to fight a battle, the issue of which must have proved fatal to that army; instead of which, an opportunity was afforded it of securing its retreat by subjecting to a defeat the very corps which was intended by its position to follow up the pursuit. The English army accordingly reached in perfect safety the bridge of Arzobispo, which was found to be quite unobstructed, and it escaped fighting a battle with the army of the three marshals. This campaign was the first of Lord Wellington's splendid career of glorious achievements; and we were doomed to see the best troops of France, those of Boulogne, Austerlitz and Friedland, condemned to humiliating defeats, because they were entrusted to officers inadequate to the charge.

The Emperor shrugged up his shoulders at hearing the details of such conduct; and as we were witnesses to the contrast between the army of Spain and the Emperor's army in Germany, where he had worked such extraordinary wonders, we had already some gloomy forebodings of the state to which France would be reduced whenever the Emperor should be removed from the scene.

Speaking of the officers who commanded in Spain, he said to us, without naming any one, "those men are very self-confident. I am allowed to possess some superiority of talent, and yet I never think I can have an army sufficiently numerous to fight a battle even with an enemy I have been accustomed to defeat. I collect about me all the troops I can bring together: they, on the contrary, advance boldly to attack an enemy with whom they are scarcely acquainted, and yet they only bring one half of their troops to the contest. Is it possible to manœuvre more awkwardly? I cannot be present every where. Had the three corps of Soult, Ney and Mortier been with me, I should have given work to the Austrians."

He had, in fact, only one corps of infantry, that of Marshal Davout, that could at all be compared for excellence of discipline to the troops he had in Spain. He could not for several days dissemble his regret at that battle of Talavera. He could easily make up his mind to a misfortune incidental to war; but a military fault that might have been avoided had the effect of immediately lessening his good opinion of the individual who had committed it. Nevertheless he felt a natural inclination for those who had long served under his orders; and although he sometimes vented his displeasure against them, he would soon give them an opportunity of being reinstated in his good graces. There was no injury he was so well disposed to forgive as that which was personal to himself. A single good action had the effect of removing from his mind the unfavourable impression created by ten bad ones; but a breach of the laws of honour, or a breach of courage, would for ever ruin in his mind the person guilty of either.

CHAPTER XVII.

The conferences are transferred to Vienna—Chimerical views of some intriguing men—Anecdote on this subject—The peace is signed—The ramparts of Vienna are blown up—Two children come from France to solicit their mother's pardon—The Emperor's regret—Singular mistake.

THE whole of Germany was too much alive to what concerned us to be ignorant of the least reverse we might experience; these were reckoned by our enemies as so many more advantages on their side, and they accordingly raised fresh difficulties in the conferences in which the question of peace was under discussion.

The Emperor was impatient of the slowness of the negotiations, and being desirous of having the plenipotentiaries more

within reach, he had transferred the seat of the conferences to Vienna. Prince John of Lichtenstein was at this time the chief plenipotentiary on the part of Austria. In consequence of this alteration, the smallest details of what took place at the conferences were generally known in Vienna. So many persons were interested in the issue, that no means were neglected that were calculated to elicit what was going forward. The Emperor had some persons about him who obstinately believed that Austria was disposed to shake off the yoke of a government which had entailed such misfortunes upon the country. They never suffered any opportunity to escape of intruding upon the Emperor their chimerical ideas, which they represented to him as the opinions of many enlightened citizens of Vienna, whilst they were nothing more than the idle dreams of some restless agitators, who abound in every capital. Intriguers appear to have acquired in almost every country the privilege of making dupes of honest men; and those of Vienna in particular would seem to have completely succeeded in imposing upon the most distinguished officers of the Emperor's army. The following anecdote was related to me by an eye-witness of the transaction. The first time that Marshal Bessières went out after recovering from the wound he had received at the battle of Wagram, he paid the Emperor a visit at his breakfast hour, which was immediately after the parade: the Emperor had been but a few moments closeted with Marshal Bessières, when a certain personage was announced, whom he ordered to be immediately introduced. Unaccustomed to see him at that hour, the Emperor asked him, in a jocose tone of voice, "What news? what are the reports now current in Vienna?" The reply given to these questions, with the utmost candour, was as follows: "Sire, the inhabitants of Vienna are penetrated with sincere admiration for your Majesty; each one sees in the soldier billeted upon him a protector near the person of the new

sovereign whom your Majesty may be pleased to grant to their wishes."

As the Emperor placed no reliance upon this assertion, he abstained from replying to it. He was just finishing his breakfast when I caused myself to be announced with a report which he expected from me: he was in high spirits, and asked me also what was the topic of conversation amongst the inhabitants of Vienna? I replied, "that they wished us to the devil from morning till night, and would assuredly make an attempt to get rid of us, if we remained much longer amongst them." "This appears much nearer the truth," said the Emperor in the presence of Marshal Bessières; "and we must not deceive ourselves. If peace be not concluded we shall have Vendean scenes to encounter in all directions. I pay no attention to idle talkers. It is high time for us to stop. I hope, indeed, that every thing will be terminated in two or three days. The unsettled points are mere trifles." The peace was accordingly signed a very few days afterwards. I cannot venture to assert that the rumour of a change of dynasty had been spread for the purpose of intimidating the house of Austria, and compelling it to adopt an early decision; but most assuredly the Emperor never entertained such an idea, which was calculated to involve him in a war with Russia, independently of the two wars he had already on *his* hands, and which called for all the resources of his *genius*. I am aware that the project was ascribed to him of forming a party in the nation, and of proclaiming the Grand-duke of Wurtzburg as Emperor of Austria; but I do not believe that he ever harboured such a design. His attention was too much engaged in the affairs of France and Spain to allow of his bestowing any upon an enterprise which would have necessarily detained him in Vienna. I recollect, moreover, that at this period he instructed me to send off from Paris to Bayonne a field equipage consisting of saddle horses, travelling carriages, &c.; and to write at the same time to the grand

equerry of the King of Spain, in order that the King should send some of his best horses to be in waiting at Burgos, to which city it was his intention to proceed as soon as possible.*

The treaty of peace having been signed, was dispatched for the ratification of the Emperor of Austria, who was not slow in giving it his sanction. The Emperor issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of Vienna, wherein he thanked them for the attentions they had bestowed upon the wounded of his army: he also expressed how deeply he had lamented his inability to lighten the burdens that had pressed upon them; adding, that to this consideration was to be attributed his having brought the war to a close, more than to any apprehension he could feel as to the issue of the contest.

He concluded by saying, that if, during his long residence in the vicinity of the capital, he had not oftener shown himself to them, the circumstance was wholly to be ascribed to his unwillingness to receive from them any of those testimonies of respect and homage to which, upon grounds of affection, their natural sovereign had an exclusive claim. This farewell address proved highly gratifying to the inhabitants of Vienna.

The Emperor had shown them some indulgence. As the winter was approaching, and the lower classes were poor in the extreme, he allowed them to cut wood in the imperial forests; and when the Austrian officers who had charge of the forests attempted to prevent this, by causing representations to be made to the Emperor, he replied: "How would the Emperor your master act in such a case? He will be under the necessity, not only of providing fuel for these poor people, but also of feeding them. Let them cut down the wood, and I will be answerable for the act."†

* I was performing the duty of grand equerry during this campaign, owing to the absence of M. de Caulaincourt, who was in Russia, and of General Nansouty, who was at the head of his division.

† It was the Emperor's intention to have had pavements laid in the suburbs of Vienna, which stand much in need of them: he was desirous, he said, of leaving that token of remembrance to the inhabitants of Vienna; but he did not find time to accomplish this object.

The magistrates of Vienna came to take leave of him. They requested him to spare the ramparts of the city, which had been undermined upwards of a month for the purpose of being blown up. The Emperor refused to comply with their request; and observed, it was for their advantage that they should be destroyed, as it would prevent any one from exposing their city to be burned to gratify private ambition. He assured them that this had been his intention in 1805; but that having, on the present occasion, been exposed to the painful alternative of either setting fire to Vienna, or of running dangerous risks, if he had not succeeded in compelling the enemy to open its gates, he would not subject himself to the like danger on any future occasion.

The magistrates had to retire without accomplishing their object; and when the Emperor had taken his departure, the several undermining furnaces which had been built under the projecting angles of the wall surrounding the town were set on fire. The explosion was found to have effected sixteen large openings. This operation occasioned great murmurings on the part of the inhabitants of Vienna; it was considered as an act of humiliation, although the Emperor had no intention to humble the population, but merely to throw the city open in such a manner as to render it incapable of sustaining a siege.

We heard at some distance from Schönbrunn the report of the explosion of those furnaces. According to the stipulations of the treaty of peace, the capital, as well as the Austrian dominions, were to be evacuated within a certain time. Marshal Davout was the officer who was placed in command of the rear-guard, and was directed to deliver up the country to the Austrian authorities. He accordingly remained some time longer at Vienna.

Mention has often been made of executions that had taken place, and the Emperor has been blamed for acts of severity to which he was a perfect stranger. He always gave his sanction to sentences already pronounced, but never directed any

one to be brought to judgment until regular proceedings had been previously instituted, and a report had been presented to him, accompanied by a proposal that the party should either be put upon trial or set at liberty; and he never failed to approve whatever proposal was submitted to him. A circumstance occurred, previously to his departure from Vienna, which greatly indisposed him against the minister of police.

As the Emperor was returning one day from a ride he found in the court-yard of the palace a lady of a respectable appearance, accompanied by two little children; all three in deep mourning. The Emperor at first imagined that she was the widow of some officer killed in battle. He came up to them with an expression indicative of the interest he took in their fate; but his countenance suddenly altered, when he learned that she had brought those children from Caen, in Normandy, to solicit the Emperor's pardon for their mother, who had been condemned to death by the criminal tribunal of that town.

The Emperor did not, at first, recollect any circumstance of this affair: he saw, however, that it could not but be of a most serious complexion, in consequence of the long journey performed for the purpose of soliciting his pardon for a condemned person. This lady was not provided with any letter of recommendation: she wholly calculated upon an appeal to the feelings of the Emperor, who asked her the name of the person on whose behalf she came to intercede. She then named Madame de D...: this brought the matter to the Emperor's recollection, and he replied to her, that he regretted he could do nothing to indemnify her for the fatigues of so painful a journey as she had undertaken, as it was out of his power to give her an answer until he had ascertained the opinion of the council, especially in a case like the present one, which brought to his mind certain circumstances of so serious a nature, that he doubted much whether he could

avail himself of the privilege of showing mercy on the occasion.

I saw the moment when he was on the point of granting pardon: his heart had already pronounced it; but other considerations interfered to stifle his feelings of sensibility. He was much incensed at the minister of police, who, after making a great stir in this affair, and claiming merit to himself for his conduct in it, could afterwards consent to grant passports, in order to put it in the power of any one to solicit his staying the execution of a judgment respecting which he had not yet made any communication to him. "If it be a case deserving of pardon," he said, with great truth, "why did he not write to me on the subject?—if otherwise, why grant passports to a family I am obliged to send away in the deepest affliction?" He complained much of this mismanagement on the part of the minister of police.

The person in whose behalf the Emperor's pardon was solicited was a Madame D..., who was divorced from her husband, and led a very loose life. After her divorce she had retired to her mother's house with her two children; and their residence was close to the road, at a distance of seven or eight leagues from the town of Caen.

The public conveyances had been frequently stopped and robbed in that neighbourhood, without any clue being afforded of the authors of the depredations, which were carried on by men who called themselves chouans, or royalists, in order to conceal their shameful trade; but who, in reality, plundered on their own account. Every endeavour was making to discover traces of those robbers, when a circumstance, which it would be too long to relate, brought some of them to light: the others were shortly afterwards found out. They were all what might be called gentlemen, and allied to respectable families, but had lost themselves by falling into bad company. Madame D... had so far connected herself with the party as

to afford them an asylum in her house, where they met previously to the commission of the robbery, and where they afterwards returned to divide the spoils. She had been reduced to this degraded condition by her dissolute mode of living; was brought before the tribunal in consequence of the evidence of her accomplices, convicted of the crime, and condemned.

Her counsel had no doubt advised her to declare herself pregnant, in order that the execution of the sentence might be stayed, and to have time to send her mother and children to sue for pardon on her behalf.

If there was a possibility of granting it to her without infringing upon what was due to society, it became the duty of the minister of police to make a communication to the Emperor to that effect; if otherwise, the minister ought not to have allowed a family to undertake the journey, when they had to return back with broken hearts, and with every appearance of being the victims of the Emperor's cruelty.

An adventure of another description occurred before his departure from Vienna, which might have been attended with unpleasant consequences had not the Emperor's service been so effectually attended to that the mischief was repaired without being made public.

He had just signed the treaty of peace, and dictated two letters to his confidential secretary, M. de Menneval—the one for the Emperor of Austria, the other for the Emperor of Russia. He did not wait until they had been fair copied, but proceeded to inspect the troops filing off on the parade. When M. de Menneval had finished the letters he laid them on the Emperor's desk, in order that he might read and sign them on his return, it being the Emperor's practice to read over whatever he had dictated; he likewise prepared two envelopes, on the backs of which he wrote the addresses beforehand, in order that the letters might the sooner be

dispatched after the return of the Emperor, which was shortly afterwards.

He read and signed both letters; and whilst M. de Menneval was adding to one of them what he had further dictated to him, he folded the other up, placed it in the envelope, sealed it, and carried the letter in person to the Austrian general, Bubna, who had gone to wait, after the parade, in the adjoining apartment. The general was already on his way to the head-quarters of the Emperor of Austria when Menneval, wishing to fold up the second letter in its envelope, discovered that the envelope for the Emperor of Russia had remained behind, though he held in his hand the letter intended for the Emperor of Austria; so that General Bubna had carried away the letter intended for the Emperor of Russia, enclosed in an envelope addressed to the Emperor of Austria. It is, I think, quite superfluous to state that this was not by any means an immaterial circumstance. The Emperor therefore hurried off to dispatch some person in all haste after General Bubna, who had just passed the iron grating of the palace when he was overtaken. He was told that the Emperor wished him to return, because he had something to add to the letter of which he was the bearer. Each letter was then laid in its proper envelope, and the mistake never transpired. Ever since this occurrence the Emperor refrained from expediting any more dispatches; he left the task to M. de Menneval, who was constantly near his person.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Sacrifices made by Austria—Departure for France—Arrival at Fontainebleau—M. de Montalivet—The Emperor's opinion respecting that family—The Kings of Saxony, Wirtemburg and Bavaria in Paris—Real motive of the Emperor's divorce—Prince Eugene is commissioned to break the subject to the Empress—Ceremony of the divorce.

AUSTRIA lost, by the treaty of peace, a population of about three millions of inhabitants; having ceded Galicia, with the Illyrian provinces, some territories in the Innviertel, as well as the province of Saltzburg. Some augmentation of territory was allowed to the confederated princes of Germany. The population of Bavaria, in particular, was nearly doubled since 1805. In each war the Emperor had replaced the sovereign of that country upon his throne, and his army had acquired a national glory by fighting in conjunction with ours. The Emperor was partial to the Bavarians. General Wrede was one of those whom he distinguished from the rest. Previously to quitting Germany, he gave him an estate producing an annual revenue of thirty-six thousand livres, on the frontiers of Bavaria, and in that portion of territory which it obtained from Austria by the treaty of peace.

Austria must have been exceedingly apprehensive of the consequences of a resumption of hostilities when it could submit to such heavy sacrifices, unless it had some latent object in view when it gave its consent, because some of them were incompatible with its political existence. Could I have ventured to express an opinion on the subject, I should have greatly mistrusted such an extraordinary proof of resignation. I cannot say whether the Emperor relied much upon its sincerity. This, however, is certain, that on quitting Vienna he went to Passau on the Inn, where he had ordered immense fortifications to be raised; and, on visiting them, he not only

did not desire the work to be slackened, but he urged the necessity of placing the town in the best possible state of defence. He waited two days at Passau in expectation of a courier whom M. de Champagny was to send to him from Vienna, and he did not take his final departure for France until the courier had arrived.

From Passau we proceeded to Landshut, and from Freysing to Munich, where the Emperor was greeted as its deliverer. The court was residing at the palace of Nymphenburg, where the Emperor alighted: he remained two or three days with the King of Bavaria, and afterwards went to Augsburg to visit the old Elector of Treves, who, since the congress of Ratisbon, bore the title of Bishop of Augsburg. He dined with him, and immediately afterwards set off for Stutgard, stopping on his way at Ulm, where he supped with M. de Grawenrenth, the civil governor of the circle, who had been the King of Bavaria's minister at his court during the campaign of 1805. He continued his journey the same night, and arrived early the next morning at the residence of the King of Wirtemburg, who had returned with his court to Stutgard, and who gave him a splendid reception. He remained a day with this sovereign; continued his journey to Carlsruhe, at which place he stayed but a short time, and arrived at Strasburg, where he only stopped the time requisite for receiving reports of all the constructions *he had* ordered to be made in that town, and at the fortress of Kehl. He then proceeded without stopping as far as Fontainebleau, where he had given directions for his household to meet him, and for the ministers to bring him the statement of proceedings in their respective departments.

He had travelled, however, at such a rapid rate, that he was the first to arrive. Not a servant was yet in attendance. Whilst waiting for his suite he visited the new apartments he had ordered to be built. This was the first time that any use was made of the building situated in the court-yard of

the White Horse, where the military school formerly stood, which had just been transferred to Saint-Cyr. He had had the apartments laid out as drawing-rooms, for the purpose of affording employment to the manufactories of Lyons and the workmen of Paris. Immense crowds of people came from all quarters to see him: no expressions were found adequate to convey their love and affection for him. If a monarch is justified in relying upon the homage of the people over whom he rules, is there any one who has received more testimonies of it than were displayed towards the Emperor by all Frenchmen, and by the people of many other countries?

The Empress, who was at St. Cloud, came immediately to Fontainebleau; and in a few hours after her arrival, a society was formed of the most elegant ladies of a court which was a model of elegance. There were very few that could not claim a husband, a brother, or a son, either in the Emperor's suite or in his army; and I do not think he omitted in any one case to inquire after their healths, and to give them tidings about their relatives. On those occasions he appeared much less in the character of a monarch coming to receive expressions of homage and submission, than in that of a kind and benevolent father, delighting to see about him persons so closely allied to those whom he had made participators in his career of glory. The palace of Fontainebleau had been raised by his care from the heap of ruins which it formerly presented to the eye; and he had restored it, as if by a magician's wand, to a state of splendour which it had never before displayed, not even in the gayest days of Louis XIV.

We reached Fontainebleau on the 29th of October, 1809, and the Emperor remained there until the 21st of November following. During that interval of time he appointed a successor to the minister of the interior, who had died during the campaign. He selected, amongst several candidates, M. de Montalivet, the then director-general of public roads, to

whose family he was much attached. He never spoke of its qualities without making use of the following expressions: "They are a family of the strictest probity; they are all heart; and I place great dependance on their affection for me." He only did them justice. They were incapable of being ungrateful; for M. de Montalivet was a man of honour in the fullest acceptation of the term.

The Emperor quitted Fontainebleau to return to Paris, and also to see the King of Saxony, who had just arrived for the express purpose of paying him a visit, and of thanking him for having delivered his kingdom and extended its limits. The Emperor assigned for his residence the palace of the Elysée, which had been fitted up in a style adapted for a royal personage; and all the high authorities of the state hastened to pay their respects to that virtuous monarch. His example was followed by the other princes of the confederation; and we witnessed the arrival, first of the King of Wirtemburg, to whom the Emperor assigned the palace of the Luxembourg, and next of the King of Bavaria, who came a little later, as well as the Prince-primate and other princes from the borders of the Rhine.

This winter was remarkable for the gaiety of its fêtes and amusements, as well as by the greatest event that had yet attracted our attention. A thousand idle stories have been related concerning the Emperor's motives for breaking the bonds which he had contracted upwards of fifteen years before, and for separating from a person who was the partner of his existence during the most stormy events of his glorious career. It was ascribed to his ambition to connect himself with royal blood; and malevolence has delighted in spreading the report that to this consideration he had sacrificed every other. This opinion was quite erroneous, and he was as unfairly dealt with on the subject as all persons are who happen to be placed above the level of mankind. Nothing can be more true than that the sacrifice of the object of his affections was the most

painful he ever experienced throughout his life, and that he would have preferred adopting any other course than the one to which he was driven by motives which I am about to relate.

Public opinion was in general unjust towards the Emperor when he placed the imperial crown upon his head. A feeling of personal ambition was supposed to be the main-spring of all his actions. This was, however, a very mistaken impression. I have already mentioned with what reluctance he had altered the form of government; and that if he had not been apprehensive that the state would again fall a prey to those dissentions which are inseparable from an elective form of government, he would not have changed an order of things which appeared to be the first solid conquest achieved by the revolution.

Ever since he had brought the nation back to monarchical principles, he had neglected no means of consolidating institutions which permanently secured those principles, and yet firmly established the superiority of modern ideas over antiquated customs. Differences of opinion could no longer create any disturbance respecting the form of government when his career should be closed: but this was not enough; it was further requisite that the line of inheritance should be defined in so clear a manner, that, at his death, no pretence might be made for the falling out of any pretenders to the throne; because, if such a misfortune were to take place, the least foreign intervention would have sufficed to revive a spirit of discord amongst us. His feeling of personal ambition consisted, in this case, in a desire to hand his work down to posterity, and to resign to his successor a state resting upon his numerous trophies for its stability.

He could not be blind to the fact that the perpetual warfare into which a jealousy of his strength had plunged him, had, in reality, no other object than his own downfall, because with him must necessarily crumble that gigantic power which

was no longer upheld by the revolutionary energy he had himself repressed; and in order then to strike an overwhelming terror abroad, that volcanic fever should be fed within which often proves the safety of empires; but when treated by a skilful hand, will occasionally be used as a means of enslaving them.

He had always extricated himself with glory from every enterprise directed against him. They had mostly been productive of an effect the reverse of what his enemies had contemplated, and they had thus been instrumental in affording him those overwhelming resources which appeared to them the more formidable when wielded by so mighty a genius; but since they so often attempted to wrest those resources from his grasp, when he was present at the head of his armies, what attempts were we not to apprehend from them under his successor, who in the first place could only be such in a collateral line, and who would, in the second place, have found the nation exhausted, the army quite disheartened, and the moving springs of public opinion worn out.

These were the considerations which fixed his determination, and made him occasionally exclaim, when speaking of his enemies, "They have all sworn my ruin, but have not the courage to compass it." These were, I repeat, the considerations which made him reflect on the choice of a successor.

The Emperor had not any children; the Empress had two, whose destinies appeared immovably fixed; and he never could have entertained a thought of them without exposing himself to most serious inconveniences, and doing something so imperfect that it would carry its principle of destruction along with it. I believe, however, that if the two children of the Empress had been the only ones in his family, he would have made some arrangement for securing his inheritance to the Viceroy, because such an event might have been brought about without any national convulsion or disturbance, and no

part of the order he had established would thereby have been deranged. The Viceroy was a prince well qualified for business; of a lofty mind, and deeply impressed with the extent of his duties towards the Emperor; and he would have imposed upon himself the obligation of consolidating the whole system of government such as it would have been handed over to him.

My opinion is grounded upon the knowledge I had that the Emperor was always pleased at his submission to his will, and sometimes said that the Viceroy had never yet given him the smallest cause of displeasure. He however dismissed the idea of appointing him his heir, because he had nearer relations, and it would have given rise to disunions, which it was his principal object to avoid. He also considered the necessity in which he was placed of forming an alliance sufficiently powerful, in order that, in the event of his system being at any time threatened, that alliance might be a resting point, and save it from total ruin. He likewise hoped that it would be the means of putting an end to that series of wars of which he was above all things desirous to avoid a recurrence.

Those were the motives which determined him to break an union so long contracted: he wished it less for himself than for the purpose of interesting a powerful state in the maintenance of the order of things established in France. He reflected oftentimes on the mode of making this communication to the Empress; still he was reluctant to speak to her. He was apprehensive of the consequences of her tenderness of feelings: his heart was never proof against the shedding of tears. He thought, however, that a favourable opportunity offered for breaking the subject previously to his quitting Fontainebleau. He hinted at it in a few words which he had addressed to the Empress, but did not explain himself until the arrival of the Viceroy, whom he had ordered to join him. He was the first person who spoke openly to his mother, and obtained her consent for that bitter sacrifice. He acted on the

occasion like a kind son, and a man grateful to his benefactor, and devoted to his service, by sparing him the necessity of unpleasant explanations towards a partner whose removal was a sacrifice as painful to him as it was affecting. The Emperor having arranged whatever related to the future condition of the Empress, upon whom he made a liberal settlement, urged the moment of the dissolution of the marriage, no doubt because he felt grieved at the condition of the Empress herself, who dined every day, and passed her evenings in the presence of persons who were witnessing her descent from the throne. There existed between him and the Empress Josephine no other bond than a civil act, according to the custom which prevailed at the time of his marriage. Now, the laws had foreseen the dissolution of such marriage contracts. A particular day having therefore been fixed upon, the Emperor brought together in his apartments those persons whose ministry was required in this case; amongst others, the Arch-chancellor and M. Regnault de Saint-Jean d'Angely. The Emperor then declared in a loud voice his intention of annulling the marriage he had contracted with Josephine, who was present: the Empress also made the same declaration, which was interrupted by her repeated sobs.

The Prince Arch-chancellor having caused the article of the law to be read, he applied it to the case before him, and declared the marriage to be dissolved.

CHAPTER XIX.

The Empress Josephine—Her character and goodness of heart—Misunderstanding between Napoleon and his brother Louis, King of Holland—Order to intercept certain dispatches—M. Fouché again—Political situation of the Emperor.

THE formalities of the divorce having been gone through, the Empress took leave of the Emperor, and retired to her apartment, which was on the ground-floor. In consequence of arrangements agreed upon beforehand, she took her departure the next morning for Malmaison, where she fixed her residence. The Emperor likewise departed the same day for Trianon, feeling an aversion to remain alone in that immense palace of the Tuileries, which constantly brought the Empress Josephine to his mind. She descended from the highest rank in the state with great resignation, saying that she was amply repaid for the loss of honours by the consolation of having obeyed the Emperor's will. In quitting the court she drew the hearts of all its votaries after her: she was endeared to all by a kindness of disposition which was without a parallel. Her condescension to every one was as great when she became Empress as previously to her elevation: she was profuse of her bounties; and bestowed them with such good grace, that the partakers of them would have deemed it an act of incivility to refuse her: no applicant ever left her presence with empty hands. She never did the smallest injury to any one in the days of her power: her very enemies found in her a protectress: not a day of her life but what she asked a favour for some person, oftentimes wholly unknown to her, but whom she found to be deserving of her protection. She placed many families in a state of comparative independence, and was surrounded of late years by a

swarm of children, whose mothers had been married and settled in life through her bounties. Malevolence made it a reproach to her that her expenses bordered upon prodigality. Ought this to be laid to her charge? The same scrutinising spirit did not descend to inquire into what she laid out in the education of children belonging to indigent parents: no notice has been taken of what she distributed in charities amongst private families. Regardless of self, her whole time was engaged in attending to the wants of others. Every one regretted her for the Emperor's own sake; for it was well known that she never spoke to him otherwise than in favourable terms of all those who were about his person. She was even of service to M. Fouché, who had in some measure attempted to become the instrument for bringing about her divorce a twelvemonth sooner than it took place.*

During her stay at Malmaison, the high road from Paris to that residence presented, even in bad weather, the appearance of a procession. Each one deemed it his bounden duty to present himself there at least once a week.

The Emperor, on his part, did all he could to habituate himself to a solitary life at Trianon, where he had fixed his own residence. He frequently sent to Malmaison to inquire after the health of the Empress; and I really think, that had it not been for the accumulation of business, he would *have* gone there in person.

On the occasion of this event, he had summoned to Paris several members of his family, who came to keep him company at Trianon. The King of Bavaria also arrived in Paris, with his Queen, about the same time. He remained there after the departure of the other sovereigns of Germany. The winter was passed in the gay enjoyments of masked balls and other similar amusements. The Emperor was particularly

* She urged the Emperor to reinstate him in his functions subsequently to George's conspiracy.

desirous that every means of diversion should be afforded to the princes who had come to visit him. He was particularly attentive to the Queen of Bavaria, to whose service he had attached some of the maids of honour belonging to the palace of the Empress. Towards the end of January all the princes had returned home, and there were only a few members of the Emperor's family in Paris.

In the midst of all those diversions the Emperor was not unmindful of public affairs. The English had been compelled to evacuate Flushing and the island of Walcheren, where nearly the whole of their army was laid up in hospitals owing to the prevailing sickness. In consequence of the occupation of Flushing by the English the Emperor complained to the King of Holland that his troops had not done their duty.* There was a small fort in the Scheldt, called the fort of Bast, which surrendered to the English fleet without firing a shot. He alleged that the harbour and arsenal of Antwerp were not sufficiently protected, whilst it had such neighbours as the Dutch in its vicinity; and with this impression upon his mind, he was desirous of making arrangements in order to obtain from him the surrender of a part of the military frontiers of Holland in that direction. He had to complain of the resistance offered by his brother, who had come to Paris on the occasion of the divorce. That resistance assumed a serious character. I know not who it was who put it into the head of the King of Holland that, whilst he was in Paris, the Emperor had given orders for the troops that had returned to Antwerp since the peace, to establish themselves in Bergen-op-Zoom, Bois-le-Duc, and Breda, being the fortresses along the new frontier which it was wished to occupy in order to be masters of the Eastern Scheldt and of the re-

* The Emperor said that he left the Dutch army in the country, when he proceeded on his last campaign, merely because he felt some apprehension for Antwerp, as his troops were not sufficiently numerous to enable him to leave a garrison in that city.

maining part of the Maëse. There is no doubt, however, that some traitor reported to the King of Holland the projects which he had, perhaps, supposed the Emperor to entertain; for the Emperor, who had always private sources of information on every subject, was apprised that the King intended to send a courier to Holland, with instructions for the three fortresses to resist any attempt of the French troops to take possession of them. It was further added, that his instructions went so far, as that, if an order should be presented bearing his own signature, for the surrender of the fortresses to the French, it was not to be complied with until he should have returned to his dominions, wishing thereby to create the impression that he was not, perhaps, in the full enjoyment of liberty, or that his signature might have been surreptitiously obtained.

The Emperor, who naturally felt displeased that this design should be attributed to him, was more particularly so when he reflected upon the mischief which such a letter was calculated to produce in Holland, especially as he could have had no motive for writing it. He was at the Théatre Français in the afternoon of the day on which these details were made known to him. I had the honour to accompany him on that occasion; and it appears that his mind was much taken up with what had been reported to him; for he desired me to approach, and whispered to me the order to go directly to the minister of police, and desire him to cause every courier going from Paris to Holland to be stopped at the barriers. I found the minister at home. He issued his orders in my presence, and called for his carriage, saying that he would proceed forthwith to the King of Holland.

He must necessarily have been apprehensive of some event consequent upon what had been reported to the Emperor, or upon the intentions of the King of Holland; for, being ignorant of what had occurred, I had not said any thing to him. I returned to inform the Emperor of my having executed his

orders. He was still at the theatre, and appeared rather astonished that the minister of police should have proceeded so quickly to visit the King of Holland. For my part, I accounted for it in this manner: the minister of police wished to interfere, more or less, in every business, and kept upon terms with every party. It therefore occurred to me that he had himself inspired some uneasiness into the mind of the King, who may thereupon have uttered some hasty expressions, which the minister went to repeat to the Emperor; but that, as he now received an order to stop the King's couriers, he had hurried away to apprise him of such an order, that he might be on his guard with respect to any dispatches of consequence, leaving, at the same time, all unimportant ones with the couriers, so that the seizure of some papers might serve as a proof that the order had been carried into effect. Whether he arrived at the King's residence before or after the departure of the courier who went off the same night, and was stopped at the barrier, is a point I am unable to determine; but I afterwards had strong grounds to suspect that the courier, having been brought to the minister of police, the latter only delivered up to the Emperor such dispatches as the King of Holland was indifferent about. If therefore the courier had already gone off when the minister saw the King, he would have returned the dispatches found, of which he was the bearer, and enabled the King of Holland to suppress such of them as he thought proper; and if the courier only left after the minister's visit, it was still more easy for him to deceive.

It is quite certain that the King intended to make an open resistance, and that his orders were expected in Holland. The courier must evidently have been the bearer of those orders. The Emperor was perfectly well aware of the opposition of the King his brother in that respect, and was not surprised that he should accordingly write to Holland, in which country he knew that preparations of defence were

going on. He was infinitely more surprised therefore to find that no mention was made of the subject in the dispatches brought to him. I concluded from all this that the minister of police, being apprehensive of the consequences for himself of the explanation that might be expected to take place between the Emperor and the King, if the tone and tenor of the dispatches had called for it, had conceived the idea of deceiving them both, because the King would have unquestionably justified himself by saying that his fears proceeded from the minister; and it is equally clear that the Emperor would have told his brother that this very minister had been the informer against him.

The Emperor said nothing; but his suspicions were now awakened, and he laid up this anecdote in store with others which he intended to bring forward at the proper time.

The King of Holland had a fine opportunity of complaining of the violence done to him. There was nothing to show that he was in the wrong. When, however, he found the Emperor so much bent on carrying a point which had previously been the subject of an official correspondence, through the minister for foreign affairs, he gave way; and Marshal Oudinot, who was stationed on the frontier, received orders to enter Holland, and take possession of the ceded territory.

After the peace, the Emperor had sent a great part of *his* forces back into Spain; and the remainder of the army had been quartered in the German provinces which previous treaties had placed at his disposal. A violent outcry was raised against this measure, which was alleged as a proof that the Emperor sought to stir up a fresh war. A spirit of calumny and malevolence prevented those who entertained it from considering that the troops quartered in foreign countries, and paid out of their revenues, afforded to that extent a relief to the public treasury, which would otherwise have been under the necessity of sending enormous sums of money for the pay and maintenance of the troops.

The same individuals who entertained such sentiments retorted, that the plainest course to be adopted was to make peace!. But it was for this very purpose that we retained foreign provinces in our possession, and kept up so large an army. The Emperor was under the necessity of making it bear its due proportion to the aggregate amount of the forces which his enemies might oppose to him. He kept the German provinces, with the intention of giving them up in exchange for what he had to ask of England, on his own behalf, and on that of his allies.

He was bereft of the power of reconquering the French and Dutch possessions beyond seas, of which both nations equally stood in need; but he held in his power some German provinces and states in alliance with England, which were hereafter to be restored either to their independence, or to their former owners. He must either resort to those means for concluding a peace with England, or the war would have no end.

England was augmenting her power in the four quarters of the globe: the power of the Emperor was increased in Europe only; and he kept in his possession what interested England alone, in order to have in hand wherewith to settle his accounts with her.

Is it supposed, for instance, that the Emperor could ever dream of retaining Dantzic, Lubeck, Hamburg, Hanover, Holland, Erfurt, Fulda, &c. &c.? He would have restored every thing for the object of re-establishing the balance of power in the possessions beyond seas between the different maritime nations. He would have gone further, and have eventually separated Italy from France, if Spain could have effected her revolution without commotion and without a struggle. He only kept Italy with the view of saving it from its ancient habits, and of drawing from it, at the same time, the means of more effectually resisting that series of coalitions against him, which were no sooner broken down than they

were formed again. Had it not been for Italy, he could not have resisted the first well-directed attack; but it supplied him with men, money, and stores, and interposed a large space, as well as serious obstacles, between him and his enemies. Had he consented to look upon Italy with indifference, he must have sunk at once beneath the rank of a second-rate power. Italy could not maintain an attitude of neutrality. When the force of old habits should have resumed its influences, it would have proved ungrateful to us, and given to our enemies the benefit of all the resources we derived from it; and if the Emperor had not had Naples or Spain at his command, France must have been in a much weaker state than before the revolution; especially when again, in the course of time, those two countries should have been governed by princes equally prudent and warlike, who would have endeavoured to strengthen their power by giving it greater extension.

The sovereigns who waged war against him, under pretence that his overgrown power was calculated to disturb the repose of the world, would not allow that we had any thing to apprehend from theirs, which had extended beyond all bounds, both previously to, and during the French revolution.

CHAPTER XX.

Projects of a matrimonial alliance—The Emperor inclines towards Russia—The Emperor Alexander's reply—An intrigue—The Chevalier de Florette—M. de Semonville—Reply of the court of Vienna—The Emperor's embarrassment—He consults his council—Differences of opinion.

We had now reached the end of January, 1810. The Emperor's divorce had been pronounced in the preceding month,

and he had, in all appearance, already bent his thoughts upon forming a fresh union with a princess who would be the means of drawing closer the ties of an alliance productive of advantage to France, and might present him with an heir, whom all parties were agreed in considering as the only obstacle to the return of internal discord.

There was not, at this period, any princess of a marriageable age amongst the reigning families of the great powers of Europe, except in Russia, and her Imperial Highness the Archduchess Maria Louisa of Austria, and one of her sisters, each of whom was older than the Russian princess.

The Emperor was only forty years old at this time; and although there was a considerable disproportion in point of age, many motives had induced him to sacrifice private appearances to reasons of state policy. He felt a personal regard for the Emperor of Russia, with whom he was in alliance; and notwithstanding the resentment he entertained at the conduct of his army in the campaign which he had just brought to a close, he would have gladly availed himself of another opportunity of drawing closer the bonds of an alliance with Russia, which had been eagerly entered into by both parties, and which, if properly kept up and rigidly adhered to, would effectually prevent the peace of Europe from being ever more disturbed. There existed, moreover, no circumstances calculated to prevent a most perfect intimacy between those two great powers. Their armies, whenever they met, had learned to set a high value upon each other; whereas, after all that had taken place between Austria and us, we could not bring ourselves to fix our attention for a moment towards that power.

It is supposed that the Emperor wrote confidentially to M. de Caulaincourt, his ambassador in Russia, about the end of December or beginning of January, relative to the design he had formed of uniting himself to the Princess Ann Paulowna; for I recollect that, on the occasion of a court circle at the

palace of the Tuileries, after his return from Trianon, he asked me, in a low tone of voice, to point out to him which of the ladies in the apartment I thought most like, in point of figure, to the Grand-duchess Ann of Russia. I happened to be the only Frenchman in company who had had the honour of seeing her; but she was then only sixteen years of age, and though she promised well, I still had some difficulty in satisfying his curiosity. He again repeated the subject; and I think that, if the reply to the letter he had caused to be delivered by M. de Caulaincourt had been such as he desired, he would not have hesitated a moment in following up his design. He was in great impatience to receive it, when, instead of the one he expected, he received a letter from the Emperor of Russia, who neither accepted nor rejected the proposal.*

Six weeks would necessarily elapse before a reply could be received to any message from Paris to St. Petersburg, because a fortnight was allowed for the official communication to be made, and a fortnight for each courier. The six first weeks had therefore been wholly thrown away; but the public mind was at work in the interval: wagers were made for and against the marriage; because, in such a city as Paris, every thing is repeated, and so many various conjectures are formed upon matters wholly unknown, that, by dint of guessing, the truth will sometimes come out.

The approaching marriage of the Emperor with a Russian princess was sufficiently the topic of conversation for all opinions to have become settled upon the subject; and every one was already on the alert to obtain some station at the court of the new sovereign, when a circumstance, originating in an intrigue, took place, which disturbed every calculation.

After the last treaty of peace, Austria had sent to Paris as

* Independently of the letter to M. de Caulaincourt, the Emperor made an application direct to the Emperor Alexander, who replied in his own hand that he was going to consult his mother on the subject.

ambassador the Prince of Schwartzenberg, who lately commanded the army in the field. He was in a truly painful position; and nothing short of the utmost zeal for the service of his sovereign could have induced him to hold that station in Paris, after the disastrous events which Austria had experienced: he had, however, the constancy to remain there. His parties were numerously attended.

The residence of an ambassador is never wanting in parasites when a good dinner and a friendly reception are given. Certain habits had already been adopted at the hotel of Prince Schwartzenberg, who had with him as chief secretary of embassy the Chevalier de Florette, a person well known in Paris; this, no doubt, was the reason of his having been selected.

M. de S...., a senator, had formerly been ambassador from France in Holland, where he had known M. de Florette, who was employed in the Austrian legation in that country.*

S.... being on a certain evening at the hotel of the Austrian ambassador, Prince Schwartzenberg, met Florette there, and in a tête à tête conversation, which diplomatists always delight in, S.... spoke to him of the current events, and of the rumours of the Emperor's approaching marriage with a Russian princess; but that it was as yet a mere project, nothing having been determined upon: he expressed, at the same time, his astonishment to the Chevalier de Florette that the court of Austria, which was graced by several handsome princesses, should not take any step to procure them a preference; adding, that this was an awkward omission, as such a course was the only one calculated to retrieve her affairs; that it was, besides, well known in Austria that, if this opportunity was missed, matters might go on much worse on a future occasion.

Whether the Chevalier de Florette suspected that this communication partook, in some respects, of an official cha-

* I received these details from the senator himself.

racter, or whether he considered it as mere idle conversation, he answered M. de S.... as a man delighted at his observations; and, with the view of coming at the truth of what he had said, he replied that they would, no doubt, be much flattered in Vienna to receive a proposal of such a nature; but that the rules of etiquette forbade the mention of princesses, whose names ought to be held in the highest respect; that it would first be necessary to know how the subject would be received at the Tuileries. The conversation proceeded no farther. M. de S.... went immediately to the secretary of state, the Duke of Bassano, and found him on the eve of going to the Emperor, for the purpose of transacting business with him. He related to conversation he had just had with the Chevalier de Florette, with this difference, however, that he stated it as if M. de Florette had been the first to break the ice; and had said, "We dare not name our princesses, because we do not know how the proposal would be received; and, however anxious we may be, it behoves us to wait until we shall have attracted attention."*

* Since writing these Memoirs, I have read a small pamphlet, which appears by the title to have been printed from General Bertrand's compilation of materials collected by him, and left, it is said, at Elba, after the memorable departure from that island.

The subject of the Emperor's marriage with the Arch-duchess Maria Louisa is repeatedly alluded to in this pamphlet. The particulars given by the author, though affording sufficient evidence that he had paid great attention to the circumstance, are incorrect in the most essential point; this made me have doubts of the correctness of the remainder.

The author alleges that M. de Narbonne had had some overtures made to him at Vienna, in the name of the Emperor of Austria, respecting this marriage. To which I reply—that after the peace of 1809, M. de Narbonne asked in Vienna, and obtained leave to proceed on a visit to Messieurs de France, who resided at Trieste, and may have seen the Emperor of Austria on his way back through Vienna; but he had returned to Paris previously to the Emperor's divorce; and in so delicate a matter, no one will venture upon a subject involved in uncertainty: a courtier would not expose himself to the bitter consequences of an act of indiscretion; and Narbonne had his fortune to make.

This version was widely removed from the truth; it might be inferred from it that Austria desired the marriage, and had even given secret instructions to her ambassador, either to watch an opportunity of mentioning the subject, or to give a reply, if the occasion should call for it. In the first conversation M. de S.... had given a kind of private information to M. de Florette; whereas it was made to appear, by what he related to M. de Bassano, that M. de Florette had himself given him to understand that Austria was desirous of that alliance, for which she was apprehensive of making the first advances, lest the offer should be rejected. The Duke de Bassano did not fail to report every thing to the Emperor. He was in favour of the measure; and the Emperor the more readily listened to it, as there appeared to him great mystery in the conduct of Russia with respect to the question which he had caused to be agitated at that court. As he saw no grounds for expecting a favourable issue to it, he instructed M. de Bassano, happen what might, to pay a semi-official visit to the Prince of Schwartzenberg, as if his only object were to ascertain what might be the real intentions of the cabinet of Vienna regarding such a proposal, in case of its being ventured upon.

The ambassador could only give the most favourable assurances; but, in order to make more sure of the matter, he requested time to send off a courier with dispatches, the reply to which he would not fail to make the Duke de Bassano acquainted with: he did so accordingly. This was so promising an event for the self-love of many individuals, that nothing was neglected that was calculated to ensure its success; the senator, therefore, who was on terms of intimacy with M. de Bassano, hastened to tell M. de Florette how matters stood with the court of Russia, in order that he might appear at court as a man well informed of every thing; and that they might both derive all the credit which they would no doubt

claim, at second-hand, for having accelerated a negotiation so interesting to the welfare of both countries.

A courier was sent off to Vienna in consequence, notwithstanding that one was daily expected from St. Petersburg: he twice performed that journey before the other had proceeded half way. Some evil genius unaccountably presided over the management of our affairs with that country; and it must be allowed that the uneasiness of the Empress-mother, respecting the too tender age of her daughter, was almost unanswerable. Certain it is, however, that such a reason would not have held good, if the eldest, who was then about twenty-one years of age, had been still unmarried. Many are the conjectures which this untoward event may suggest to a reflecting mind! Whilst Russia was raising objections —(for, at one time, the Emperor so far considered the matter settled, that he said that the occurrence would doubtless bring the Emperor of Russia to Paris)—whilst, I say, she hesitated coming to a decision, the courier returned from Vienna with a satisfactory answer to every question; and the rules of propriety required that there should be as much promptness shown in the reply.

The Emperor was, therefore, placed between hope on the one side, and a proposition on the other, the adoption of which wholly depended upon him.

It was highly desirable that no time should be lost in tranquillising the public mind, which had taken as warm a part in the event as if it had been one of a nature which concerned them individually. It enters into the enjoyments of the Parisians to discuss every subject. The Emperor's marriage was therefore the anecdote of the day, and the general topic of conversations. He was also much pleased that the question of his marriage was settled, as it left his mind free to devote himself to other business. He was anxious, however, on this important occasion, to consult his privy council, and assembled it at the Tuileries for that purpose.

Amongst the members present were the King of Naples, one of the most energetic opponents of the alliance with Austria, the arch-chancellor, the arch-treasurer, M. de Talleyrand, and the ministers of state, including M. Fouché.

The real state of the question was laid before them. It was represented that Russia, without giving an absolute refusal, alleged grounds for delay, which were perhaps intended as a cloak to conceal projects, such, perhaps, as political views wholly unconnected with the case under discussion; Austria, on the other hand, was anxious for an immediate alliance, and met the subject without evasion.

It was the Emperor's wish to take the opinion of every one about him: he first asked whether his marriage with a Russian princess, or with a princess of the house of Austria, would be most for the advantage of France. Several voices were raised in favour of the Russian alliance, and the Emperor, on inquiring into the grounds of such an opinion, had occasion to remark that it mainly rested upon an apprehension that an Austrian princess might give way to feelings of private resentment in consequence of the death of the king of France, and of her grand-aunt the queen of that monarch. Now this was but a secondary consideration, which could only have weight with a few individuals, who had accordingly a leaning for Russia. Finding therefore that no sufficient motives were assigned for a contrary course, the Emperor decided for her Imperial Highness the Archduchess Maria Louisa, whose age was more suitable to his own, and whose father, the sovereign of Austria, had tendered the alliance in a manner calculated to inspire every confidence in his sincerity.

The determination being once taken, it was so quickly carried into effect, that the Emperor's marriage contract was drawn up, signed by him, and dispatched to Vienna on the same night, together with a formal demand of the hand of her Imperial Highness the Archduchess Maria Louisa of Austria.

Dispatches were accordingly sent off to Russia for the purpose of putting a stop to the project of alliance which had been developed by our ambassador at that court. I have since had an opportunity of satisfying myself as to the correctness of the opinion I had formed, that many petty interests of a personal nature had concurred to create so rapid an alteration in the Emperor's original intentions, and that a certain individual, who had at all times a free access to him, had supported the views of Austria, in order to claim at a later period the intervention of that power in favour of other interests which had become altogether foreign to France.

As this is nothing more than an anecdote, though it be founded on fact, I abstain from entering more into detail respecting it. The Emperor had no sooner declared his intention than every one found he had adopted the most judicious course: some alleged that a Russian princess would have caused a religious schism; others that we should have been exposed to the effects of that Russian influence which was endeavouring to extend itself in all directions. It would have been easy, however, to reply, that the church would not have been more disturbed by the introduction of a Greek rite than it was by the existence of protestant and Jewish rites.

It was said by the people at large, I mean the trading part of the community, who had still some faith in auguries, *that* Austrian alliances had always proved fatal to France, and that it would turn out an unfortunate event for the Emperor. Many other superstitious predictions were also made, which, by an unhappy fatality, were doomed to be partly realised at a future period.

CHAPTER XXI.

Journey of Maria Louisa to France—The Emperor's impatience—He proceeds to receive the new Empress—They meet on the road—Arrival at Compiegne—Indiscreet conversations—Ceremony of the civil marriage.

At this important period of his life the Emperor conceived the idea of connecting with it the names of his oldest companions in arms, and by thus proclaiming them in the face of all France, he gave them a public testimony of his friendly feelings far exceeding any other act of kindness he could have bestowed. He sent the Prince of Neufchatel to solicit the hand of the Archduchess Maria Louisa, and transmitted to the Archduke Charles a power to espouse her in his name.

Having for General Lauriston, formerly his aide-de-camp, an affection which was of long standing, he commissioned him to proceed to Vienna, and accompany the Empress to Paris as the captain of his body guard.

With the view of honouring the memory of Marshal Lannes, Duke of Montebello, he appointed his widow to be a lady of honour to the new Empress, finding it impossible to bestow upon her a more signal proof of his esteem; for she had not yet, at that time, any claim to entitle her to a situation which was to place her all at once at the head of the highest society.

He sent his sister, the Queen of Naples, as far as Braunaw, with four ladies of honour, to meet the Empress. We had then in Braunaw the corps of Marshal Davout, who was completing the measure of evacuating Austria. This corps was placed under arms upon the arrival of the Empress, and gave her as brilliant a reception as the means of so small a town could afford.

The Queen of Naples received the Empress at Braunaw,*

* A long saloon, with doors at both ends, had been constructed and tastefully decorated for the occasion.

where the ceremony took place of delivering up her Majesty by the officers whom her father had appointed to accompany her, as well as of the delivery of her effects; and as soon as the Empress had clothed herself in the garments brought in the wardrobe from Paris, she passed over the frontier with the ladies of the palace who were in attendance, and gave audience of leave to all those who had accompanied her from Vienna, and were about to return. All this was accomplished within an hour from the time of her arrival at Braunau.[1]

She departed immediately for Munich, Augsburg, Stutgard, Carlsruhe, and Strasburg, and was received with great splendour at all the foreign courts, and at Strasburg with great enthusiasm. So many hopes were interwoven with the marriage, that her arrival was sincerely greeted by all.

The Emperor had gone as far as Compiegne to receive her, the court being then at that residence. He wrote to her every day by a page, who went off at full speed with his letters, and as quickly brought back her replies. I recollect that the Emperor having dropped the envelope of the first letter, it was instantly picked up, and handed about the saloon as a specimen of the handwriting of the Empress: the eagerness to see it was as great as if her portrait had been exhibited. The pages who came from her were tormented with questions. We had, in short, been transformed at once into courtiers as assiduous as our ancestors in the days of Louis XIV., and would scarcely have been taken for the men who had laid so many nations prostrate at their feet.

The Emperor was no less impatient than ourselves, and much more interested in knowing what more peculiarly concerned him: he really appeared love-stricken. He had

[1] The Empress entered by the door which was on the side of Austria, whilst the Queen of Naples entered by the other. An apartment in that direction was purposely reserved for the Empress to attend to her toilet. She was accompanied by French ladies, and held out her hand to be kissed by German ladies, who withdrew by the door on their side, and immediately took their departure.

ordered that the route of the Empress should be by the way of Nancy, Chalons, Rheims, and Soissons, and could almost point out, at any hour of the day, the progress she had then made.

On the day of her arrival he took his departure in a plain carriage, with no other attendant than the grand-marshal, after giving his instructions to Marshal Bessières, who remained at Compiegne.

He travelled on the road of Soissons and Rheims, until he met the carriage of the Empress, which was suddenly stopped by his courier. The Emperor alighted, ran up to the door of the Empress' carriage, opened it himself, and stepped in. On perceiving the astonishment of the Empress, who knew not the meaning of this abruptness in a stranger, the Queen of Naples said to her, "Madam, this is the Emperor." He returned to Compiegne in their company.

Marshal Bessières had ordered out all the cavalry quartered near the palace, and advanced with it and with the general officers and the Emperor's aides-de-camp on the road to Soissons, as far as a well-known stone bridge, the name of which I do not however recollect; at the same bridge Louis XV. had met the dauphiness, daughter of Maria Theresa, afterwards the unhappy queen of France.

The Empress did not arrive until night, and we were drenched by the rain whilst waiting for her. There was fortunately no use in endeavouring to get a sight of her, for we should certainly have been trodden under the horses' feet in the attempt.

The people of Compiegne had succeeded in making their way to the porch of the palace, where they ranged themselves in a double line. The Empress, on her arrival, was received at the foot of the principal staircase by the mother and family of the Emperor, the whole court, the ministers, and several personages of the highest rank. It is superfluous to name the person who attracted the attention of every one from the

moment the carriage-door was opened until the entrance into the apartments. An intoxication of joy beamed in every countenance.

No court was held that night, and all the company withdrew at an early hour.

According to the etiquette observed at foreign courts, the Emperor was no doubt married to the Archduchess Maria Louisa: not so, however, with reference to our civil code; nevertheless, it is said that he followed the example of Henry IV. on his marriage with Maria of Medicis. I am only repeating here the illiberal remarks made the next morning, because I am pledged to speak the truth. The world claimed the privilege of seeing and knowing every thing: as to myself, what I actually saw afforded me nothing to cavil at, notwithstanding the prevailing rumours. Had it, however, been my case, I should have followed the precedent of Henry IV. on this occasion.

It happened to be my turn to sleep that night in the apartment of the officers in attendance. The Emperor had left the palace and retired to the chancellor's residence; and if the report had been brought to me that all Paris was on fire, I should not have attempted to disturb his repose, under the apprehension that he might not be found at that residence.

The next was a very fatiguing day for the young sovereign, because presentations were made of persons wholly *unknown* to her, by individuals with whom she was not much more acquainted.

The Emperor himself presented to her his aides-de-camp, who felt highly gratified at this condescending mark of his regard; the lady of honour presented the ladies of the palace and others who were to form her retinue.

The Emperor proceeded with the Empress to St. Cloud on the day after the public presentation, the attendants of both households following them in separate carriages. They did not pass through Paris, but took the road to St. Denis, the

Bois de Boulogne, and St. Cloud: all the authorities of Paris had repaired to the boundary of the department of the Seine, in the direction of Compiegne, and were followed by a great part of the population, who gave themselves up to the joy and enthusiasm which the occasion naturally created.

An immense crowd had collected at St. Cloud to greet her arrival; first, the princesses of the imperial family, amongst whom were the Vice-queen of Italy, who was then making her first appearance in Paris, the Princess of Baden, the dignitaries, the marshals of France, the senators, and the councillors of state. It was broad daylight when the imperial retinue reached St. Cloud.

The ceremony of the civil marriage did not take place till two days afterwards, in the gallery of the palace of St. Cloud. A platform was raised at the extremity of the gallery, with a table and arm-chairs upon it for the imperial couple, as well as chairs and stools for the princes and princesses of his family: none were present at the ceremony except the persons attached to the respective courts. When all the preliminary arrangements had been gone through, the cortége moved forward from the apartments of the Empress, and crossing the grand apartments and the saloon of Hercules, entered the gallery, where it was arranged on the platform in the order laid down by the rules of etiquette. The place of every one had been determined beforehand, so that in an instant the utmost order and silence pervaded the assembly.

The arch-chancellor stood near a table with a rich velvet covering over it, upon which was a register held by Count Regnault de Saint-Jean d'Angely, the secretary of the imperial family's household. After taking the Emperor's orders, the prince arch-chancellor put the following question to him in a loud voice: "Sire, is it your Majesty's intention to take for your lawful wife her Imperial Highness the Archduchess Maria Louisa of Austria, here present?" "Yes, Sir," was the Emperor's answer. The arch-chancellor then addressed

the Empress: "Madam," he said, "does your Imperial Highness, of your own free consent, take the Emperor Napoleon, here present, for your lawful husband?" "Yes, Sir," she replied. The arch-chancellor proceeded then to declare, in the name of the law, and of the institutions of the empire, that his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon and her Imperial Highness the Archduchess Maria Louisa of Austria were duly united in marriage. Count Regnault de Saint-Jean d'Angely presented the act for signature, first to the Emperor, afterwards to the Empress, and lastly to all the members of the family,* as well as to the different personages whose official ranks entitled them to this honourable privilege.

When the ceremony was over, the cortège returned to the apartments in the same order as before. Every one reserved his eager curiosity for the next morning; none, in fact, were prepared to witness the imposing sight which was exhibited to the view of a million of Frenchmen. It requires no stretch of imagination to form a correct idea of the reality; for there can be no exaggeration in picturing the pomp, splendour and brilliancy so profusely displayed on that day of general rejoicing.

* It was also signed by the Empress' uncle, the then Grand-duke of Wurtzburg, who was present at the ceremony.

CHAPTER XXII.

Cortége—Entry into Paris—Religious ceremony at the Tuileries—Behaviour of the Cardinals—Explanation given on this subject—Departure of the Emperor and Empress for Belgium—Canal of Saint-Quentin—Antwerp—M. Decrès—Great results produced by the administrative talents and activity of that minister—The Emperor's return to Paris—Impression created by the new Empress.

So much splendour had never been displayed by any court; and although I am speaking as it were in the presence of many contemporaries who will probably read these Memoirs, I cannot resist calling back to the minds of those who will feel pleasure in the recollection, the details of an event in which all were eager to participate, and which none could have suspected to be so near to a signal catastrophe.*

The imperial couple left St. Cloud in a carriage drawn by eight cream-coloured horses, preceded by an empty carriage drawn by eight grey horses, which was intended for the Empress;† thirty other carriages with a ground of gold, and drawn by superb horses, completed the cortége; these were filled with the ladies and officers of the household, and by those whose employments gave them the privilege of being admitted to the imperial presence. The train left St. Cloud between eight and nine o'clock in the morning, and was escorted by the whole of the cavalry; it passed through the Bois de Boulogne, the Gate of Maillot, the Champs Elysées, the Place de la Revolution, to the garden of the Tuileries, where all the carriages passed under the peristyle, and stopped, to enable the company to descend and enter the palace.

* The religious part of the marriage was performed on the 8th or 9th of April, 1810, and the revolution of Fontainebleau occurred on the 8th of April, 1814.

† This carriage was for mere form.

From the iron railing of the court of the palace of St. Cloud, both sides of the road were lined with so dense a mass of people, that the population of the adjacent country must have flocked to St. Cloud and Paris on the occasion.

The crowd increased on approaching Paris; from the barrier to the palace of the Tuileries it baffled all calculation. Orchestras were placed at stated distances along the Champs Elysées, and played a variety of airs. France appeared to revel in a delight bordering upon frenzy. Many were the protestations of fidelity and attachment made to the Emperor; and whosoever had ventured to predict at that time what has since come to pass would have been scouted as a madman.

When all the carriages had arrived, the cortége resumed its order of etiquette in the gallery of Diana, at the Tuileries, and proceeded through a passage expressly constructed for the occasion, and terminating at the gallery of the museum, which it entered by the door near the pavilion of Flora.

Here began a new spectacle; both sides of that immense gallery were lined from one end to the other with a triple row of Parisian ladies of the *middling* class; *nothing* could be compared to the variegated scene presented by that assemblage of ladies of all conditions, whose youthful bloom shone forth more dazzling than their elegant attire.

A balustrade extended along both sides of the gallery, in order to prevent any one from passing beyond a certain line, and the middle of this fine edifice was thus free and unobstructed, so as to admit of a passage for the cortége which moved along, and afforded a feast to the eyes as far as the very altar. The vast saloon at the end of the gallery, where the exhibition of paintings generally took place, had been converted into a chapel. Its circuit was lined by a triple row of splendidly ornamented boxes, filled with the most elegant and distinguished ladies then in Paris. The grand-master of the ceremonies assigned to the persons composing the cortége

their proper places as they arrived in the chapel. The strictest order was observed during the whole of this ceremony.

Mass was performed by His Eminence Cardinal Fesch, after which the marriage ceremony took place. I must here mention a circumstance which was remarked by many, and was attended with unpleasant consequences.

The minister of public worship had convoked all the high clergy then in Paris, and the neighbouring bishops. They all attended the ceremony in their pontifical vestments: the cardinals alone were absent, with the exception of two, who did not even take the precaution of assigning a motive for their absence; this will be presently explained; nevertheless the marriage ceremony was performed. The cortége returned in the same order to the palace of the Tuileries, where the Emperor remained a few days for the purpose of receiving the congratulations of all the public authorities and administrative bodies.

He had not forgotten the insulting conduct of the cardinals. He first blamed the minister of police for not having ascertained their intention, and prevented their carrying it into effect. The cardinals, however, did not escape punishment: he began by banishing them from Paris, and afterwards ordered them off in different directions, to a distance of at least fifty leagues from the capital.

Those cardinals had been in Paris ever since the pope had been removed to Savona. The Emperor being anxious to attend to ecclesiastical affairs at his first leisure moment, had ordered the sacred college to join him. The marriage took place before he could give his attention to those affairs, and the prelates availed themselves of this opportunity to show the ill-will which they bore to him.

Whilst at Paris, they were under the direction of the minister of public worship, who had taken care to invite each of them separately, and by letter, to repair to the chapel of the Tuileries on the day of the Emperor's marriage; and their

angry deportment might have seriously injured the moral effect produced by that important event, if the good sense of the people at large had not been proof against the passions of the Emperor's enemies, who, not daring openly to approve of the conduct of the high dignitaries of the church, did not fail to spread the report that the pope had forbidden their assisting at the marriage. At any other time such conduct would have created an emotion of pity or contempt; but as there were many pious souls in France upon whom it might produce some ill effect, it was thought proper to mark it by an act of public severity. The Emperor would not have been justified in acting otherwise; he was bound to deal severely towards men who, in the very palace of the government, came to tell the wife of the chief of the state that she could not be lawfully united in marriage with him to whom she was wedded with the consent of her family, and in the face of the country and of all Europe. This was tantamount to telling her—"You cannot be the lawful wife of the Emperor: see whether you will consent to be his concubine." Their conduct could admit of no other interpretation; and this was the cause of the displeasure of the Emperor, who showed himself on the occasion far too considerate towards those senseless men, who, forgetting the sanctity of their ministry, availed themselves of it to cast a reflection upon a young princess, whom it was so important to hold up in all her virgin innocence to a people whose attention was fixed upon her movements.

What motive could they allege for such a proceeding? that the Emperor was married; that the pope had not authorised his divorce? An act was given in by the ecclesiastical court of Paris which cleared up all doubts. I have already said that the Emperor had not been married to the Empress Josephine in the eyes of the church; the church had therefore nothing to do with his divorce. He was married according to the civil laws: now these laws provided for a case of divorce, and nothing had been done in opposition to them. According

to the dogmas of these disturbers of public tranquillity, the Emperor's first wife ought rather to have been viewed as a concubine than the wife whom he married before the church.

This, however, was not the motive which led them to the commission of so unbecoming an act: it was to be found in the decree of excommunication; and if this was really the case, the Emperor would have been highly blameable in not ordering into confinement those agitators, who only came to France for the purpose of preaching disobedience, and creating a schism in the church; for the consequence of this must sooner or later have been, that the parish priests would have been bound to preach a crusade against him.

No sovereign would have failed to take a signal revenge of conduct like this; and if he did not punish it as it deserved, his was the forbearance of a strong mind, proof against such petty vexations. It was, however, a powerful weapon in his hands on replying to the arguments urged upon him when he wished, some months afterwards, to settle the affairs of the clergy. I shall soon dwell upon this subject.

A few days after the grand ceremonies consequent upon the marriage, the Emperor returned with the Empress to Compiegne. In this journey they were accompanied by a brilliant and select society; and the time was passed in a continued round of amusements. The Emperor's assiduous attention to his new wife was the theme of general admiration. He invited company to dinner every day, in order to have an opportunity of becoming acquainted with those to whom he might allow access to her presence. She evinced a remarkable degree of timidity, which won every heart; and it was a source of delight to witness the Emperor's assiduity to her.

The visit to Compiegne did not extend beyond a week. Previously to his taking the Empress on an excursion to Belgium, he passed through Saint-Quentin, and from thence, on the road to Cambray, he entered the subterranean vault of the canal that connects the rivers Scheldt and Oise. This

canal had just been completed; and previously to the waters being let in, the Emperor was desirous of going over it. This prodigious work emanated from himself, and will be handed down to posterity as a proof of his anxiety for the internal welfare of any province where it was possible to carry such mighty plans into effect. There is no doubt that if the Emperor had not been at the head of the government, that canal, which had long been in contemplation, would never have been completed.

From Cambray he proceeded to Brussels, and from Brussels to Antwerp. The journey was one continued triumph: all were surfeited with pleasures and public ceremonies.

The Grand-duke of Wurtzburg followed in the imperial train, as well as the Queen of Naples, several French and foreign ministers, Count Metternich amongst the latter. The Emperor proceeded with the Empress in a boat from Brussels to Malines by the navigation canal that unites both towns. He stopped previously to reaching Malines for the purpose of embarking on the Ruppel in sloops belonging to the navy, which the minister of marine had brought up the river as far as Ruppelmund.

We proceeded from thence to Antwerp by water, a mode of travelling adopted by the Emperor for the purpose of his personally inspecting the ships of the Antwerp squadron, which the minister of marine had been under the necessity of ordering up the river Ruppel whilst the English held possession of Flushing, from whence it was apprehended they might make the attempt to burn them, as they had done with respect to the fleet at Rochefort during the same campaign.

Some of the ships had returned to Antwerp, and only six were remaining in the Ruppel. We arrived at Antwerp through a dense cloud of smoke proceeding from gunpowder, and occasioned by the salute fired by each ship of war on perceiving the boats which conveyed the Emperor and his

suite. It almost presented the appearance of a naval engagement.

We stayed a whole week at Antwerp; a delay occasioned by the Emperor being under the necessity of removing a difficulty which was of yearly occurrence, by discovering some means of affording permanent protection to the shipping from the damage which the ice occasioned them towards the close of winter. It had hitherto been the practice to adopt certain contrivances, which were not always found to answer the purpose. Of all the plans submitted to the Emperor, he only adopted one, which was to cut in the heart of the town a basin of sufficient capacity to admit the whole squadron. Nothing short of the wonderful activity of the Emperor could conceive, and almost as rapidly carry into effect, such gigantic projects. I shall be thought justified in saying so when I observe, that this capacious basin was in a condition to receive the fleet in the month of November or December, although we were then in the beginning of May.

The harbour of Antwerp presented every year some new object of wonder to the beholder. M. Decrès, the minister of marine, against whom such an outcry had been raised, could not, assuredly, refute his enemies more appropriately than in the following words:—"Follow my example:" for, laying all partiality aside, he may be said to have been one of the men who best understood and executed the Emperor's orders.

He has created more naval resources, in ships of war and frigates, than had ever been built since the age of Louis XIV. To these must be added the port of Cherbourg, a more splendid construction than the most boasted Roman works; that of Antwerp, its dockyards and basin; the widening of the entrance into the port of Flushing, so as to introduce the largest ships of war into it; the extension of Brest harbour; and lastly, the numerous flotilla at Boulogne some years before. If, notwithstanding such immense labours, we have been

without a navy, the fault is assuredly not with that able minister; all he wanted was proper assistance.

None were henceforward sent on board except the young conscripts, who were turned into sailors just as they would have been made soldiers. Whenever therefore a vessel fell in with an enemy it was captured; but if it succeeded in gaining the open sea, and remaining out some months, its crew became properly trained, and it might then contend, without the least danger for its safety, against a ship of equal strength. The minister of marine was very unfairly dealt with, when our disasters were attributed to his mismanagement.

The Emperor witnessed the launching of a ship, and then proceeded to reconnoitre the course of the Scheldt and its various branches.

His brother, the King of Holland, who was returning from Paris to Amsterdam, passed through Antwerp to take leave of him: he then proceeded on his journey, avoiding the country which he had been compelled to cede to France.

On leaving Antwerp, the Emperor went to visit Bergen-op-Zoom, Breda, Gertruidenberg, Bois-le-Duc, and the whole line of fortification along the Meuse. He came back by Laken, Ghent, Ostend, Lisle, Calais, Boulogne, Dieppe, Havre, and Rouen, and returned to St. Cloud on the 1st of June.

Having been seized with a violent fever when at Breda, I obtained leave to return to Paris. My attention was directed some time ago to a passage in M. Ouvrard's Memoirs, setting forth that the Emperor had sent me to Paris for the purpose of watching his movements. He really does himself too much honour, and has no doubt an exalted notion of his own consequence: He would certainly have been the first person in respect of whom a similar mission had been confided to me. He may besides rest well assured that, had his assertion been borne out by the fact, I should very

unceremoniously have placed him in close confinement, if he had been worth the trouble, as I took care to do the first time his name was ever mentioned to me. This will be seen in the succeeding chapter.

On her return from this voyage to Belgium, the Empress had already formed some idea of the French nation: she had been greeted with acclamations wherever she appeared, and began to familiarise herself with a country where the present was to her a flattering augury of a long life of uninterrupted enjoyments. The excellent education she had received afforded her the conviction that a woman ought not to be self-willed, since she knew not to whose hands her future fate might be committed. Such indeed was her disposition, that had it been proposed to her to live in a wilderness, she would not have found it in her heart to raise the smallest objection. This perfect passiveness of habit proved, at a later period, of serious injury to us.

She was already inspiring the French with a warm attachment to her person; and it was already a source of congratulation to all that they had a sovereign free from the influence of intrigue, disposed to think well of every one, and accordingly deaf to all idle court talk. Those who only appeared now and then at court, and who therefore saw less of her character, mistook for a frigid disposition that natural timidity, which never left her whilst she remained on the French soil. Such persons were in error, and their judgment was probably misguided by their bringing the old court of Versailles to their minds, and adopting an unfavourable bias from ancient recollections. Another circumstance which contributed to the timidity of the Empress during the first months of her residence in France was, that she spoke French less fluently at that early period than she afterwards did. She was well acquainted with the language; but in a conversation, where she was under the necessity of weighing every word, some attention was required to the

structure of our phrases, which placed her as it were under the necessity of translating in her own mind, from the German phrase which was familiar to her, into the French language, the expressions of which were not so readily at her command.

She never discovered how greatly this slight but visible embarrassment enhanced the graces of her person in the eyes of every beholder.

CHAPTER XXIII.

M. Ouvrard—Order for his arrest—Particulars on this subject—Strange anecdote—The disappointed senator—The Emperor names the author minister of police—Sensations created in Paris by this intelligence—M. Fouché leaves a solitary document in the author's possession—Instructions which the author receives from the Emperor.

THE Emperor had scarcely been a week at St. Cloud, on his return from his late excursion, when a change took place in the administration. He had been told that the minister of police was negotiating with England, and that the Sieur Ouvrard, who was only supposed to have been in Holland, had gone over to London, and brought back letters for the Duke of Otranto. This report was coupled with such minute and precise details, that the Emperor believed it, and was resolved to elicit the truth. He determined to have M. Ouvrard arrested; but, as he mistrusted the minister of police, he had an order conveyed to me direct, which required that I should procure his arrest on that very day, and previously to the breaking up of the council of ministers, which was then sitting at St. Cloud; otherwise M. Ouvrard would be informed of the order, and elude my search. As soon as he should be arrested, I was to send him to prison,

and forbid all communication with him. I was at St. Cloud, in attendance in the saloon, when the Duke of Bassano brought me the order, written and signed by himself. I was as unacquainted with M. Ouvrard's place of residence as with his person. It was already two o'clock, and the council of ministers generally broke up between five and six. This was the second time of my receiving a similar order from the Emperor since I had the honour of being in attendance about his person: on each occasion he had reason to suspect the fidelity of the minister of police in the discharge of his duties.

I had never before been entrusted with such commissions, and it never happened again; or, to speak more plainly, during a period of sixteen years he only availed himself twice of my services on similar missions, although it was imagined that I was daily employed upon them.

I was ruminating, on my return to Paris, about the means I should resort to for discovering M. Ouvrard's place of residence, when it occurred to me that I might procure it from a person in Paris with whom I was acquainted. I went to him, and before I had mentioned a single word respecting the object of my visit, I was requested not to remain in the house, but to return, if I pleased, towards five o'clock, because two visits were expected, on account of which my friend had been requested to deny himself to every one. I insisted upon remaining, unless the parties expected were made known to me; and as there appeared no reason for concealing them, M. de Talleyrand and M. Ouvrard were named. Had this meeting taken place for the express purpose of assisting my views, it could not have occurred more opportunely to enable me to discover an individual with whose person I was unacquainted, and whom I was nevertheless expected to arrest within a given time.

I pretended disappointment at this visit, and requested that I might find no one on my return at five o'clock, as I had

something particular to communicate: this was faithfully promised. I hurried off in all haste to the barracks of the gendarmes, of whom I was the colonel, took along with me a captain, a man of the best society (he had formerly been the attendant squire of the Countess d'Artois), who was as incapable of failing in the rules of propriety as in his duty, and who knew M. de Talleyrand by sight. I had beforehand drawn up every written order he might stand in need of; told the object I had in view, and informed him of the particulars I had casually learned a few moments before. He proceeded at once to the house I had pointed out to him. Conforming to my directions, he would not listen to any refusal of admittance, and accordingly went into the saloon, where he found M. de Talleyrand, whom he knew, in company with the object of his search, M. Ouvrard, with whose person he was unacquainted, and entered into conversation with the latter, intimating that he had some private communication to make to him.

M. Ouvrard having left the apartment, was shown the orders of which the officer was the bearer, and was requested to step with him into a coach, which was in readiness to take him to Vincennes. On his arrival at the castle, the keeper refused to receive him without an order from the minister of police; so that it became necessary to leave M. Ouvrard in the record office until the Duke of Otranto could be applied to in Paris for the requisite order. I had forgotten that such a formality was necessary; and if, as it is pretended, I had had any right of surveillance over that establishment, I might easily have had the gates opened without the Duke of Otranto's assistance. He had just returned from St. Cloud, where he had received the Emperor's orders, and could not therefore refuse those that were demanded of him in respect to M. Ouvrard. But this was, again, a fine opportunity for overwhelming the gendarmerie with a multitude of questions quite foreign to the subject. When he found out how M. Ouvrard had been dis-

covered, he felt persuaded that treachery had been made use of to place him in my power, and retained some rancour against the person whom he imagined to have betrayed him, but who was as guiltless as myself on the occasion. He however reported to that person so many idle tales concerning me, that we lived for a long time on bad terms with each other; and I resolved within myself that M. Fouché should suffer for his conduct towards me.

I returned to St. Cloud the same night, and the Empéror, on seeing me, asked if I had found out M. Ouvrard: on my replying in the affirmative, he gave some orders, which I cannot now bring to my recollection.

The succeeding Thursday and Friday passed off without any novel occurrence. I was on duty about his person on the Saturday, and he still remained silent. The next day, Sunday, as I entered the saloon, where he held his levee, he again perceived me, because the aide-de-camp whose service was over generally entered the saloon at the same moment with the officer whose duty was about to commence. He then asked me, for the first time, if I was going to remain at St. Cloud; and on my expressing my intention to depart, he desired me not to do so, as he should have to send for me in the course of the day.

Mass was performed in the palace, as usual, in the presence of those persons only who were accustomed to attend the court. There was yet no indication of a change. Finding myself quite alone after mass, I fancied that the Emperor had forgotten me, and went to beg a dinner of the Duchess of Bassano, in order to be near at hand in the event of my being sent for, and I determined not to take my departure until the Emperor should have retired to rest. Madame de Bassano occupied a country house at Sevres, directly facing the bridge. Never could I have suspected that it should, at any future period of my life, become necessary to revert to details which then appeared to me so wholly devoid of interest.

As I was waiting at the Duchess of Bassano's until her husband should return to dinner, we saw him arriving from Paris, with Count de S . . . , a senator, in the same carriage with him. It was such a usual practice for the Duke of Bassano to bring back portfolios in his carriage, that I paid no attention to the circumstance that the portfolio of the minister of police was of the number; but I took particular notice that a packet, belonging to Count de S . . . , containing a senator's dress complete, was also brought out of the carriage, besides a sword, and a hat and plumes. Having seen this senator at mass in the morning, I was at a loss to explain to myself how he could have returned to Paris, and so quickly made his re-appearance at St. Cloud. On my asking the cause of this, he replied, that he had visits to pay to some old dowagers at Versailles, and only waited for his carriage to proceed on his journey.

The Duke of Bassano had some reports to make to the Emperor before dinner; and being therefore under the necessity of waiting for his return, I went to take a walk in the park with M. de S . . . , who told me that the administration of the police had been taken out of M. Fouché's hands, and that the Duke of Bassano had just gone to deliver to the Emperor the portfolio of that department. I then began to account to myself for the return of the senator with the packet, sword, and hat; and was accordingly paying him my compliments, which he declined, with an assurance that he would not accept of any employment.

Whilst walking together, we were overtaken by one of the Emperor's grooms, on horseback, who led a second horse by the bridle, and came for me in all haste. I had silk stockings on, and was in a very unsuitable dress for riding. As, however, the groom was in a hurry to return with me, I took it into my head to borrow a pair of boots belonging to M. de Bassano, which I drew over my silk stockings, and put my shoes in my pocket. My friends were very far from sus-

pecting what was going to happen, and joined me in a hearty laugh at my singular garb. I started for St. Cloud at full gallop, and hurried on my shoes in the hall, previously to entering the state apartments. The Emperor was growing impatient at my absence, and was about to step into his carriage, and take his accustomed drive with the Empress, when my name was announced. I was immediately ushered in, and the arch-chancellor withdrew, though already informed of every thing. "*Well, Savary,*" said the Emperor, smiling, "we have some strange work on hand; *I* am going to appoint you minister of police. Have you the courage to undertake the duties of that office?" I replied, that I felt resolution enough to devote my whole life to his service, but that such a business was quite foreign to my pursuits. Upon which he remarked, that every thing was to be learned in time.

He then ordered the arch-chancellor and the Duke of Bassano into his presence: the latter showed me the form of the oath, which I immediately took, and I can safely assert that I have never violated it.

I accompanied the Duke of Bassano back to dinner. He recommended silence to me, an advice which was unnecessary; for I was quite bewildered at what had just taken place. I should have been much less startled at undertaking ever so difficult a mission, than at engaging in a business of the nature of the one now confided to me. A heavy lassitude came upon my mind, and I felt unable to eat any thing, or to take a part in the conversation during dinner, which was no sooner over than the senator and the lady of the house came up to the Duke of Bassano, and made inquiries of him respecting the appointment of the new minister. I heard him reply, with his looks directed towards me, "There is the minister of police." They seemed as much astonished as I had been. The senator gave up his intended visits to the dowagers at Versailles, and took his packet back to Paris.

The Duke of Bassano and I proceeded to Paris together,

in order that he might place the hotel of the minister of police at my disposal. I did not reach home until a very late hour, and felt not the least inclination to sleep, being unable to reconcile myself to the idea of exchanging my profession for duties at which I actually recoiled.

When this appointment was made known through the next day's *Moniteur*, no one would give credit to it. Had the Emperor nominated to those functions the ambassador of Persia then in Paris, the circumstance would not have created greater apprehension. I was deeply mortified at perceiving the unfavourable impression produced on the public mind by the appointment of a general officer to the ministry of police; and had I not felt myself strong in the consciousness of rectitude, I never could have had the courage which was so necessary for bearing up against the illiberal remarks of which I was the subject.

I was a cause of terror to all; every one was making preparations for leaving Paris; nothing was spoken of but exiles, imprisonments, and measures of still greater severity; and I verily believe that the report of a plague on some point of the coast could not have occasioned a greater dread than my nomination to this department. In the army, where the nature of its duties was little understood, the event created the less astonishment, as it was the general opinion that I already exercised some controul over the ministry of police. I can, however, declare upon my honour, that, until this appointment, I was never entrusted by the Emperor with any mission in any way connected with it, except on the two occasions I have already noticed. The individuals who spread this report amongst the troops were the very men who, as is usually the case on such occasions, were foremost in denouncing their companions whenever an opportunity was afforded them of doing so. By throwing the suspicion upon me, they succeeded in screening themselves. Their reports are all known to me. I have hitherto respected the secret, which affected them, and

not myself; but a spirit of moderation should not be mistaken for a want of recollection.

Until the period of my initiation into the higher functions of administration, I had neither considered the world nor state-matters in the light in which I was afterwards compelled to view them. This change of scene placed me under the necessity of dismissing from my mind what had hitherto engaged it, and of fixing it upon the new elements which were about to engross my whole attention.

I had flattered myself that my predecessor would leave me some documents calculated to guide my first steps in this new career. He begged I would allow him to remain in my hotel to enable him to collect his effects, and at the same time certain papers which he was desirous of communicating to me. I had the simplicity to permit his retaining his old apartments three weeks longer; and, when he left them, the only paper he delivered was a document drawn up against the Bourbon family, and dated at least two years before: every thing else had been consigned to the flames, and not a vestige of a paper was left behind. I derived as little information from him when it became necessary for me to be made acquainted with the agents of police; so that the celebrated administration of M. Fouché, of which, in common with every one else, I had entertained so wonderful an opinion, lost much of its importance in my mind; and I could not help viewing it with an eye of suspicion, since so much unwillingness was shown to put me in possession of information which so deeply concerned the welfare of the state; and time only added strength to my conviction that we had been the dupes of the most impudent system of quackery upon record, as will be shown in the sequel of these Memoirs.

I soon had occasion to satisfy myself that the administration of police was never carried on in the Emperor's interest; that it had been made available as a means of acquiring his confidence, and at the same time of abusing it; and that it

was a dangerous weapon in the hands of a disturber of public tranquillity, who made it his whole duty to follow the stream of fortune.

I proved, however, of some service to my predecessor in his downfall. He was indebted to me for the recovery of large sums which he had, without reason, thought proper to place beyond the reach of a seizure, which his imagination alone gave him cause to apprehend. The Emperor was displeased with his conduct, but had no intention of injuring him, and on no occasion was I under the necessity of calming any resentment on his part against the Duke of Otranto.

When the Emperor placed me at the head of the department of the police, he gave me the following instructions as he was walking with me in the park of St. Cloud:—

"Be accessible and kind to every one. You are supposed to be cruel and hard-hearted. If you were to give way to any feelings of revenge, you would place yourself at the mercy of your enemies. Dismiss no one unheard. If, in the course of your administration, any individual should give you just grounds of complaint, let six months elapse before his dismissal takes place; and even then you should obtain for him a situation equal to the one he may leave. You serve me faithfully when you serve the state. It is not by praising me when the occasion does not call for it that my interests are promoted. This is, on the contrary, the sure way to injure me; and I have had reason to be much displeased with whatever has hitherto been done in this respect. When you are compelled to resort to measures of severity, they should be founded upon a thorough conviction of their necessity, because you may safely, in that case, ascribe them to the duties which your functions impose upon you. Follow not the example of your predecessor, who laid to my charge the acts of severity which I had not authorised, and took credit to himself for every act of pardon which I directed him to grant,

although he was often wholly ignorant of the smallest details that related to the individuals upon whom these favours were bestowed. Let all literary characters be treated with consideration; they have been prejudiced against me by the representations made of my being averse to them. This was certainly done with the worst intentions; for my occupations alone prevent my receiving them as often as I could wish to do. They are useful men, who ought to be treated with *marked distinction*, as contributing to raise the fame of the French nation.

"Your system of police can only be efficient by divesting yourself of all angry passions. Be on your guard against reports originating in hatred: listen to every representation, and never decide without allowing sufficient time for reason to assume her empire.

"Many persons with whom I am wholly unacquainted have hitherto been represented to me as of the very worst character; some have consequently been sent into banishment; others are strictly watched. You must make a report to me respecting every individual case, for I am unwilling to believe all the harm that has been said of them; though they are still suffering from the effects of their sentence, because their cases have never since been laid before me. Do not allow your judgment to be biassed by any one in your office: listen to all they may have to say; but let them also attend to you, and obey your orders.

"I have removed M. Fouché because I could not in fact place any dependence upon him. He pretended to be taking the part of others against me in cases in which I had given no orders, and he thus created for himself a character of kindness at my expense. He always sought to anticipate my wishes, in order to obtain the credit of appearing to controul them; and as I had grown to be very reserved in my intercourse with him, he became the dupe of a few intriguers, and was always led into error. You will have occasion to discover

that this was the cause of his attempting to conclude a peace with England. I shall write to you upon the subject, as I wish to know how the idea of such a proceeding first came into his head."

My courage revived upon receiving these instructions. On the first days of my new employment I went to make my report to the Emperor, rather with the view of receiving some encouragement, than of presenting him with any useful result of my labours; and I soon discovered that he was guarded against every thing, and that the reason of his extraordinary patience with M. Fouché was to be found in his being provided with ample means to defeat his wicked designs.

I gradually acquired confidence; and, without being wickedly inclined, I soon discovered a sufficient portion of malice in my composition, which I turned to good account during my administration of the police. I shall have occasion to quote many instances in proof of the truth of this candid avowal.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Political situation of France—The Emperor orders M. Fouché to return his letters—M. Ouvrard is set at liberty—Fagan—Hennecart—Intrigue of M. Fouché.

I ENTERED upon the functions of minister of police on the 3d June, 1810, about six weeks after the Emperor's marriage, and at a moment when France was still under the influence of the general enthusiasm excited by that event. The Emperor had never appeared more powerful than after his alliance with a nation which had hitherto appeared to be his irreconcilable rival, and after having given a pledge of his desire for peace, as well as the unequivocal proof of his entertaining no project

of subverting the house of Austria, as had been falsely ascribed to him. The conjectures and hopes of all France were directed to the flattering dreams of undisturbed repose. Austria was on the most amicable terms with us; Prussia gave no cause for apprehension; nor could there be foreseen any ground of contention with Russia.

We were not at war with any other countries than Spain and England: a great part of our troops were on the march from Germany to Spain, so that the question could not remain much longer undecided: operations for the offensive had even been ordered to be resumed in Andalusia, by directing towards the Sierra Morena the army that had fought at Talavera, and had since kept possession of La Mancha. I shall soon return to the subject of Spain; but must first relate the events in the order of their occurrence. I cannot too often repeat that France was intoxicated with joy and the anticipations of hope; and that the public opinion in respect to the Emperor's marriage was such, that it needed only to be suffered to run on unobstructed in its course. It would, on the contrary, have been the height of imprudence to let it be supposed that the expressions of general rejoicing were the result of any administrative manœuvrings.

I have already stated that, previously to quitting Vienna, the Emperor had made his arrangements to proceed to Spain as soon as he should have arrived at Paris. Intervening events, however, and a new marriage, with its attendant consequences, made him abandon that project; nevertheless, he sent the imperial guard into Castile, as well as his field-equipage, because this measure would be taken for a forerunner of his own speedy arrival, and was therefore calculated to produce a powerful effect upon our troops as well as upon our enemies.

Previously to alluding to the general state of affairs, I must complete what relates to the Duke of Otranto. The Emperor, in withdrawing from him the portfolio of the ministry of police, had given him the government of Rome, as

a mark of his esteem. The duke was on the eve of departure, when he was applied to by the Emperor's orders for the letters he had written to him during his administration. It was the custom to return them to the Emperor's closet, with the view to prevent the bad use that might be made of them, particularly of such as were addressed to a minister of police. M. Fouché had not foreseen this, and returned for answer that he had consigned them to the flames. This reply appeared to the Emperor so unsatisfactory, that he withdrew from him the government of Rome, and ordered him to proceed on his travels into Italy. He did not, however, deprive him of any of those favours which he had heaped upon him with such an unsparing hand.*

The Emperor was displeased at such an act of indiscretion as the burning of his letters. He disbelieved it at first, and considered the answer as an excuse; the rather so, as the idea of his intending to make an improper use of those letters was quite consistent with that of attempting to open a direct communication with England without the knowledge of the Emperor, who could never account to himself for so glaring an act of folly. This was the time of his writing to me to obtain without delay all the particulars connected with that intrigue, which I was far from suspecting of so important a nature as it turned out to have been.

It will be recollected that M. Quyrard was confined in the castle of Vincennes. I received orders to authorise the admission into the dungeon of a person belonging to the Emperor's closet, who was sent to question him. This individual was M. Mounier, at that time an auditor of the Council of

* The income assigned to him as Duke of Otranto, amounted to a clear sum of ninety thousand francs; besides the senatorship of Aix in Provence, worth upwards of thirty thousand francs. He had besides a revenue of two hundred thousand francs, arising from savings in the nine years of his administration, during the whole course of which he was altogether in the receipt of an income of nine hundred thousand francs, all derived from the Emperor's bounty.

State. I at first imagined that the commission had been given to him for no other reason than my being considered as a novice in the business of the police; but I soon discovered the true cause of such a proceeding. I only learned a few years afterwards the details of the circumstances that had occasioned M. Ouvrard's arrest. The Emperor was told that he had gone over to England. This was the ground upon which he had been questioned. As, however, that assertion was false, the interrogatory could have no result; and it was found necessary to set him at liberty, since it was discovered that he had not quitted Holland, to which country he had been duly authorised to proceed. M. Ouvrard was too shrewd a man to afford any hold upon him. He replied to M. Mounier in no other way than by handing to him a letter for the Emperor, in which he vindicated himself from the charge; but the Emperor mistrusted his assertions.

The information hitherto obtained did not prove satisfactory. The Emperor persisted in the opinion that some one had travelled from Paris to London, and he wished all inquiries to be directed to that point. I was still new to the duties of my office; but the great care with which I caused the registers of travellers going to or coming from England to be examined, led me to discover that a M. Fagan had performed the journey twice within a very short time. This Fagan was well known to the police, and I sent for him. He disguised nothing. He was an old Irish officer in the service of France, who led a very questionable life in Paris, but had no reason to be ashamed of his public conduct.

He assured me, that whilst he was living in perfect retirement in Paris, he was visited by a M. Hennecart, a friend of his, who told him that the Duke of Otranto was in search of some person who might be entrusted with a mission to England, so delicate in its nature, as to require a man of transcendent talents. M. Hennecart had engaged to find out such a man, but requested the duke would allow him to

give some intimation to the person he had in view before he should divulge his name. Hennecart said to Fagan that the Duke of Otranto was entrusted with some business of a diplomatic nature, and that it was in his, Fagan's, power to create himself a name, and greatly improve his circumstances, by affording to the minister of police the aid of his services on this occasion. Fagan accepted the offer, and Hennecart desired him to present himself at the hotel of the Duke of Otranto under any pretence that might occur to him, as the duke would not be told of the purport of their conversation, in order that they might not raise any mistrust in the mind of the minister, who would assuredly not repose his confidence in a man capable of the smallest act of indiscretion.

Hennecart's motive for urging so strongly upon Fagan the necessity of concealing from the Duke of Otranto that they had been together was, that Hennecart himself had never seen the Duke of Otranto; and although he was an agent of the police, he was on this occasion instrumental to another intrigue. Fagan went to see the duke, who had heard of his name in the same manner as Hennecart was known to him. He spoke to the minister in the language of a devoted servant; alluded to the facilities he had for obtaining information in London, where he was intimately acquainted with the Marquis Wellesley, and concluded by tendering to the minister the offer of his faithful services.

M. Fouché gladly availed himself of this opportunity to unravel certain matters which were but imperfectly known to him through the correspondence with Amsterdam; and he did so the more readily, as he had no suspicion of any snare, and as Fagan was actually an agent of the police. Accordingly he provided this messenger to London with money as well as instructions, and pointed out to him a channel by which he might transmit his reports, with the view of their eluding the vigilance of the keenest observers.

Fagan had scarcely received this mission when Hennecart

came to congratulate him on the occasion; and, after the usual compliments, he told Fagan that he had yet another subject to open to him, on which his personal fortune mainly depended, and hinted at the possibility of his obtaining in some degree the Emperor's immediate protection against any capricious or unjust conduct of the Duke of Otranto, who was, perhaps, after all, the dupe of some false report. Fagan requested Hennecart to speak in plain language: the latter did so, and said, that if he would send him a copy of all the reports he might have to make to M. Fouché, it would assuredly be for his advantage; "because the reports," said he, "would be laid before the Emperor by the Duke of Bassano himself, who would," he added, "receive them from M. de S . . ., to whom they will have been delivered by myself." Fagan, after considering for a few moments, accepted the offer; and as it was no difficult task for Hennecart to persuade him of the necessity of the information being on all occasions forwarded to himself in the first instance, in order that he might be enabled to transmit his copy of the report as soon as M. Fouché could present the original, it was agreed between them that one of the documents should precede the other by the interval of a courier. This point was no sooner settled than M. Fagan took his departure for London.

I have now to relate the motives of the Duke of Otranto in sending him to England; and for the clearer illustration of my story, I shall take up the subject from its first origin.

CHAPTER XXV.

Projects of the Emperor—His desire of making peace with England—Conduct of the King of Holland—M. de Labouchere authorised by the Emperor to act—M. Ouvrard employed by M. Fouché—The hopes of peace defeated by an intrigue—Details of occurrences.

EVER since his alliance with the house of Austria, the Emperor flattered himself that he had succeeded in his expectations, which had for object to bind a power of the first order to the system established in France, and accordingly to secure the peace of Europe; in other words, he thought he had no longer to apprehend any fresh coalition. Nothing was therefore left unaccomplished except a peace with England; and in order that Spain should no longer be a difficulty in the way, that the possession of Spain, in short, should cease to be a disputed point, or a question to be brought into any negotiation on the part of France, whenever such negotiation might be entered into, he had ordered the advance to the Peninsula of forces so imposing, as to secure, in his opinion, the easy conquest of that country. The province of Castile was made their point of union; and they formed together a powerful army, of which it was the Emperor's intention to assume the command. When, however, he had determined to remain in Paris, he sent Marshal Massena to supply his place, and instructed him to march at once against the English army in Portugal, whilst the army under the orders of the King and of Marshal Soult, who performed the functions of major-general near his person, should advance upon Andalusia and Cadiz. These two grand operations were connected with the movements of General Suchet in Catalonia, where he successively laid siege to the fortified towns which line the Ebro and protect that province.

This extensive plan of operations had been drawn up by the Emperor himself, and he had indulged the hope that, though he might be absent from the army, there would be no want of subordination, no reluctant discharge of their respective duties on the part of those who were to aid those operations: the contrary, however, was the case, as will be related in its proper order of time.

A peace with England was the subject to which his attention was principally directed: he found himself provided with adequate means for offering compensations to her as an equivalent for what he should have to claim from that power in return for the sacrifices that might be demanded of him on grounds not sufficiently strong to enforce such demands; for such, in fact, was our position, that unless England could be prevailed upon to consent to a peace, there could be no end to the war.

The intervention of Russia had been twice resorted to for bringing about a negotiation with the English government; and it had been rejected by the latter in terms which did not even afford the means of calling upon her for the grounds of her refusal; so that it was still the prevailing opinion in England that the Emperor's ambition extended to the possession of a general sway over the continent of Europe, whilst in France it was imagined that England contemplated to secure to herself a maritime and commercial power which would not tolerate the existence of any other.

Notwithstanding such extreme views of contending policy, the Emperor could not give up all hope of procuring a favourable hearing for reasonable proposals on his part, in return for those which he was willing to listen to. He sought the means of sounding the views of the English government, for the purpose of ascertaining how far he was justified in not banishing all hope of an accommodation. It was necessary that a measure of this nature should be secretly resorted to, otherwise it would have shown his intentions too open a manner;

and, in case of refusal, the consequences would have all recoiled upon the Emperor.

Holland stood much more in need of a maritime peace than France itself. King Louis enjoyed the good opinion of his subjects, and frankly told the Emperor of the personal inconvenience he should feel in being seated for a much longer time upon the throne of a country wholly bereft of its resources, and deeply mortified at the recent annexation to France of a portion of its territory.

He was the first to open a correspondence with England with the Emperor's approbation. It was carried on under the disguise of a mere commercial intercourse. The firm of Hope at Amsterdam transacted more business with England than any other house; and, owing to the high consideration which it enjoyed, that house might, whilst carrying on its commercial affairs, be vested, without any impropriety, with the character which the state matters between both governments would require it to assume. It had for one of its partners M. de Labouchere, who was connected, by family ties, with one of the first mercantile men in London.

The choice of the King of Holland fell upon him for the mission which he had undertaken to set on foot. He gave his instructions to M. de Labouchere, with a passport to enable him to reach London. No suspicion could attach to him, as his appearance and intercourse in that city were the natural results of his family connexion there; and he was accordingly unshackled by any of those obstacles which might otherwise have impeded his proceedings. His character likewise stood so high with every one, that no doubt or mistrust could attach to any observations he might have to make. M. de Labouchere addressed his reports to the firm of Hope at Amsterdam, who handed them to the King; from the latter they found their way to the Emperor.

M. de Labouchere's first dispatches were not only of a satisfactory nature in respect to the dispositions with which the

British government had met him; they were, moreover, encouraging; and he expressed the hope, that if mutual concessions were made in perfect frankness, every thing might be so arranged as to answer the impatient desire of all parties; because the question of reciprocal sacrifices would no sooner come under discussion, and the first step be taken, than all important points would be easily settled, and nothing would remain but questions of little consequence when put into comparison with the enormous losses constantly occasioned by this unrelenting state of warfare.

Matters were going on prosperously, when the Duke of Otranto was informed of M. de Labouchere's being in England; an information which he may have obtained through the mercantile correspondence between London and Paris; or between London and Amsterdam, and Amsterdam and Paris. The intelligence so communicated to him was accompanied with details sufficiently interesting to excite the curiosity of the Duke of Otranto, who might, besides, have another motive for his anxiety to know them; for a minister of police is justified in suspecting every thing. On the present occasion, however, he appears to have had a mere desire to learn what events were brooding in the political horizon, in order to regulate by them his own movements. It was easy for him to acquire a correct knowledge of what M. de Labouchere was doing in London, this person being on terms of great intimacy with M. Ouvrard. He accordingly sent for the latter, spoke to him of certain circumstances which were calculated to favour speculations; told him, in short, without testifying the smallest degree of curiosity, that he held this conversation with him by the Emperor's consent, and proposed that he should proceed to Amsterdam, to act the part of an agent between him, Fouché, and M. de Labouchere, who was in London, and with whom he was to open a communication on the moment of his arrival, in order to find out what was doing in the English capital, and send him

his reports to Paris from Amsterdam, where he was to remain. M. Fouché had not yet stated a word of all this to the Emperor, who, on his part, had for a long time past acted with the utmost reserve towards him.

M. Ouvrard could have no reason to suspect that the minister was making an improper use of the Emperor's name; he therefore proceeded to Amsterdam under the conviction of being sent there by the Emperor's order, and wrote accordingly to M. de Labouchere, who, without at all deviating from the course marked out for him previously to his departure from Holland, continued addressing his reports to the firm of Hope, for the purpose of their being communicated to the King, who sent them forward to the Emperor. Nevertheless, as he was intimately acquainted with M. Ouvrard, he acknowledged the receipt of his letters; and, perhaps with the view of keeping himself aloof from the slightest suspicion of private intrigue, with which his character for discretion might have been aspersed, if matters had taken an unfavourable turn, he resolved to make an open and unreserved avowal to M. Ouvrard of what was going on, and what he expected to accomplish. He felt the less reluctant at this course, as he was at perfect liberty to take advantage of a favourable opportunity for engaging in any great commercial speculation that might present itself to him.

After M. Fouché had received the first letters which M. Ouvrard wrote to him, as to a person whom he not only supposed acquainted with the fact of M. de Labouchere's mission but also entrusted to direct its progress; whom he considered, in short, as the real negotiator between France and England; he then, and then only, spoke to the Emperor of M. Ouvrard's journey to Holland; adding, not that he had sent him there, but that he had seen no reason for refusing him a passport, especially as he was in correspondence with the firm of Hope, with whom he had accounts to settle; and that Ouvrard occasionally supplied him with news. M. Fouché fancied himself

sufficiently in rule after making this report to the Emperor; and he even mentioned M. Ouvrard's journey, with no other intention than to protect himself from blame, if matters had failed of success, and, in such case, to impute the failure to M. Ouvrard himself. The Emperor treasured up in his mind this circumstance, which did not encourage his being more communicative with M. Fouché, who was reduced to the necessity of guessing at what was going on in London from the reports sent to him from Amsterdam by M. Ouvrard, in consequence of M. de Labouchere's letters to him. The latter was too shrewd a man to commit to paper what ought not to be spoken in conversation; so that M. Fouché's curiosity was constantly excited, though never gratified; enough, however, was known to convince him that the Emperor was endeavouring to bring about a peace; and he therefore concluded that his language ought to harmonise with that object. He set to work, at the same time, with the view of reaping some credit to himself in the business of pacification, by doing every thing that was calculated to deceive the people, and impress them with the idea that he had brought it about, or caused the attempt to be made. He went boldly to work, because he made sure of the result, and felt satisfied that the Emperor had openly entered upon the negotiations. He mentioned it to some individuals, that they might take care to repeat it; and he neglected no means that were calculated to afford him regular information of the progress of the question, of which he had but a superficial knowledge, without being able to acquire a thorough insight into it. It was a source of uneasiness to him, however, that, as it was his practice to take credit to himself for every popular act, his foresight would have failed him, and his credit accordingly have been affected, if peace had been concluded without his being previously informed of what was in contemplation.

It was by these anticipations of a peace with England, which he promised to every one, that he attracted attention

to his conduct, and that the Duke of Bassano, or M. de S...,* came to learn that M. Fouché was discussing a peace with England through the channel of M. Ouvrard, who was at Amsterdam; and it was added, that the latter had already performed several voyages to and from Amsterdam to London. Motives of curiosity, or perhaps of jealousy, on the part of those who, having brought about the Emperor's marriage, were ambitious of holding some of the high appointments, perhaps the office which was aimed at by M. Fouché himself, made them form the determination of defeating his plan, or his intrigue, if it were found that he had been conspiring against the state.

This task was rendered easy to them by Hennecart,‡ whom M. de S... had brought over to his interests. Hennecart, on his side, although connected with the ministry of police, had won over the two Vera, father and son, who both held some superior employments in the prefecture of the police, which was generally in a state of rivalry towards the general administration of the department; by which means, when it was intended to deceive M. Fouché, a mischievous bulletin was placed in the hands of Hennecart, who handed it over to Vera, and the latter to the prefect of police, by whom it was reserved as a police anecdote for the private information of the Emperor. It was by such pitiful means that the progress of the most important affairs was impeded, whilst a great display was made of an unbounded zeal for the Emperor's service. I am unable to affirm whether M. de Bassano reported to the Emperor that M. Fouché was in open negotiation with England through the channel of Ouvrard; and whether the

* M. de S... had been ambassador in Holland, and was possessed of ready sources of information at Amsterdam.

† *The foreign department.* Fouché had never ceased to cast a longing look at that department ever since M. de Talleyrand had quitted it.

‡ This Hennecart was a native of Cambray; he was a returned emigrant, and was formerly an officer in the regiment of Beauvoisis.

Emperor had, in consequence, directed him to ascertain what M. Ouvrard might be doing in Amsterdam, or in London; or if inquiries were first set on foot by M. de Bassano before he made a report to the Emperor. I always understood, however, that the first communication was made to him by the prefecture of police, in the manner I have just related. Be that as it may, I can vouch for the following fact:—

After having taken the deposition of M. Fagan, whose name has been lately mentioned, I sent for M. Hennecart, and spoke to him rather roughly in these words:

"Although, Sir, you have made me so many proffers of service, have complained of the Duke of Otranto's ingratitude towards the Emperor, and have so highly approved of M. Ouvrard's arrest, I now find that you are much more deserving of imprisonment; and if you do not give me a plain and candid answer, this may very soon be your lot.

"By whose desire did you engage Fagan to undertake a mission to England?" He replied, with a dejected air and an alarmed tone of voice, that he had certainly been the originator of the proposal, and not Fagan; that the measure had been agreed upon between M. de S . . . and himself; and that, without such an intrigue on their part, they never should have succeeded in effecting M. Fouché's downfall and procuring my accession to his office. "How is this?" I replied, "without knowing me, you felt desirous of doing me that signal service!"

He endeavoured to dupe me by saying that public opinion marked me out as the only man amongst the devoted attendants upon the Emperor who was capable of properly fulfilling the duties of that department, &c. &c. He related to me, in short, all that I have mentioned as having taken place between Fagan and himself; adding, that what he had done was in concert with S . . ., to whom he invariably handed the bulletins which Fagan forwarded to him.

It appears therefore that M. Fouché, whose talent has

been so highly extolled, had employed in a circumstance of so delicate a nature as affecting his own character, an agent who, though receiving a salary from him, had been thrust upon him by M. de S..., who was actually compassing his ruin.* If M. de S... was not acting in concert with M. de Bassano, he assuredly deceived him when he delivered Fagan's bulletins into his hands as if they were derived from another source; if otherwise, M. Fouché has been completely the dupe of both.

I have not yet alluded to M. Fouché's motive for sending Fagan to London: it may have been of a twofold nature.

In the first place, as Fagan asserted that he had the means of obtaining access to the Marquis Wellesley, M. Fouché might thereby acquire a knowledge of the state of the question with the ministers, and of the proposals of that party of which M. de Labouchere was the organ; and by the correspondence of Fagan (who had been admitted to an interview with the Marquis Wellesley) compared with that of Ouvrard, which was an extract of the correspondence of M. de Labouchere, who had also had an interview with Lord Wellesley, he might almost succeed in ascertaining the intentions of each of the parties, anticipate the result, and discover at the same time, by conjecture, what were the instructions that guided the proceedings of the negotiators.

On M. Fagan's return from his first voyage, M. Fouché no longer doubted the success of the negotiations, and made his arrangements accordingly, either to claim the credit in public opinion of having brought England to conclude a peace, an object which had hitherto baffled every attempt, or to take up the thread of the negotiation at the opportune moment

* It must, however, be observed, that if M. Fouché had doubted his sincerity, he was not authorised to entertain any suspicion of the means resorted to for bribing him; and had he succeeded in discovering them, he would not have been warranted in complaining. He never would have dared to do so; besides which, he would not have been believed.

when the Emperor might have both the will and the means of treating openly, because he would have then told him that he was fully informed of the state of the question, and had never lost sight of it; a merit sufficiently great in his estimation to obtain for him the rank of negotiator at the Emperor's hands, and eventually that of minister for foreign affairs, which he aimed at as a relief from the duties of the police department. Such was his motive for sending Fagan to London: he was, however, in too great a hurry to act the part of a negotiator, and went astray like a man who should pretend to show the road to those who have not said in what direction they were travelling. He sent his messenger back to London, from whence he had lately returned, after having seen and conversed with the Marquis Wellesley. He again presented himself before this minister, to whom he related certain conversations, perhaps some of a frivolous nature, held by his brother minister, M. Fouché, and who might be supposed in London to have been empowered by the Emperor to negotiate. Fagan therefore was now vested with a kind of diplomatic character, since the Marquis Wellesley might place as much reliance on what Fagan communicated to him on the part of M. Fouché, as the latter appeared to have shown to Fagan's reports of his conversations with the Marquis. Unfortunately, however, for M. Fouché, what Fagan told Lord Wellesley did not at all coincide with the subject matter of M. de Labouchere's conversations, of which Fouché could not be so quickly informed, because what was to be sent to M. de Labouchère was addressed from Paris to the King of Holland direct, and afterwards to London, and M. Fouché could not acquire a knowledge of those dispatches until their contents had found their way back whenever M. de Labouchere should think proper to make a communication respecting them to M. Ouvrard, whom he supposed to have been apprised of the motive of his stay in London. The result of all this medley and confusion was, that the Marquis

Wellesley was justified in supposing that an attempt was made to deceive him, or that M. de Labouchere was forced to act the part of a dupe in order to flatter the Dutch with the hopes of peace; since he spoke to him one language, when, at the same moment, M. Fouché made him speak another which was not altogether consistent with the former. He entertained little doubt of the sincerity of the individual who had had the audacity to assume an official character, and reserved his suspicions for the other, who was nevertheless better entitled to his confidence, but who, not being authorised to assume any character, might be disavowed at pleasure.

He endeavoured to satisfy himself as to which of the two agents he was to place faith in; and finding nothing but contradictions in the accounts of either, he saw only a tissue of intrigue in the matter, ceased all communications with both, and shortly afterwards ordered them to quit England, observing, that if France were really desirous of peace, she might resort to other means for conveying her proposals.

It was impossible to conceal from the Emperor M. de Labouchere's return to Amsterdam. The mission of M. Fagan to London had been kept a secret from him; Fagan's bulletins, conveyed to him by M. de S...., being only handed in as bulletins of M. Fouché's negotiation, without any farther explanation. The Emperor knew of nothing more than M. Ouvrard's departure for Amsterdam; and as great care was taken to conceal from his knowledge the departure of Fagan for England (a fact which was perhaps not known even to M. de Bassano), he naturally ascribed to M. Ouvrard those bulletins of M. Fouché's negotiations. The Emperor was therefore under the impression that M. Ouvrard had gone in person to London, and he gave orders for his arrest accordingly. He was driven to it by the representations made to him that M. Ouvrard's name was only a cloak for M. de Talleyrand, whom it was wished to remove, as a man that excited great apprehension.

I leave it to all enlightened men to form their opinion respecting this business, which bears a greater resemblance to low cunning than to the higher class of intrigue. Let them, after unravelling all these snares laid against a confiding good faith, pronounce which of the parties has been the most guilty.

CHAPTER XXVI.

The King of Holland abdicates the throne—He appoints the Queen to be regent—Reflections—Uneasiness of the Emperor—The Emperor Alexander's opinion on the continental blockade—The Emperor's regret on learning the abdication of his brother—Political considerations—Annexation of Holland to the French empire.

It became necessary to renounce the hope of concluding peace, a circumstance which was productive of still worse effects in Holland than in France. The majority of the commercial body gave themselves up to despair. The King himself, whose predilection for a retired life was ill-calculated for such stormy times, was frightened at the mere anticipation of disturbances which he considered as unavoidable, no doubt feeling himself wanting in the energy of character requisite for opposing them, and he gave way to his natural inclination. He determined, on a sudden, to abdicate a power which had been as it were forced upon him; without being deterred by the apprehension of exposing the Emperor to fresh embarrassments, arising out of his leaving Holland without any government, in consequence of his abrupt departure.

It is true that by the act of abdication he had appointed the Queen to be regent; but it was not in a recently created monarchy like Holland that a foreign queen could exercise any sovereignty, especially as she was still less calculated than her husband to apply a remedy to evils the apprehen-

sion of which had made him determine to withdraw from the scene.

It was impossible not to perceive that one of two things must necessarily come to pass; either that the government would be strong enough to put down the disaffected, a term which might be applied to the whole Dutch nation; or that the latter would shake off the yoke and call in the English. Could then a female regent, a stranger to the country, and suddenly placed at the head of affairs, collect forces sufficiently imposing to command respect for her authority, and to enable her to repress disturbances; even supposing that, although young and inexperienced, she possessed sufficient moral strength to be unmoved at the heart-rending sight of an unhappy and divided nation, which would have infallibly laid to her charge all the misfortunes that oppressed it?

In a state of peace and tranquillity, when a correct and enlightened mind, combined with a generous and elevated character, are qualities sufficient for governing, Holland could not have been under a happier sway than that of its Queen-regent; but the times were not of such a cheering complexion; and there were other interests to be attended to of importance paramount to those of that country.

Much blame has been thrown upon the King of Holland for his conduct: he has been generally reproached for deserting a nation which did justice to his qualities, and had given him proofs of fidelity and obedience to his service; for having, by his abdication, exposed them to evils which he might have averted, by preserving them from the inseparable consequences of a total dissolution of government. He has been reproached, in short, with having, by that act of abdication, marked out the Emperor as the originator of this voluntary sacrifice; whilst it was much more to a consideration for his health, and to his fondness for retirement, that this sacrifice was to be ascribed, than to the Emperor's influence over Holland; an influence, however, which was much less consider-

able than under the elective government of that country at an earlier period.

The Emperor had good reason for saying occasionally, when he spoke of his brothers, that they were no sooner invested with power than they adopted the policy of the government to which they had succeeded, so that he had gained little by the change; and he added, that it would be no greater expense if those countries over which they held sway were governed by viceroys.

The King of Holland had no sooner signed his abdication than he took his departure in the strictest incognito; passed through Westphalia, which was under the dominion of his brother, and afterwards through Saxony, on his way, it was said, to the waters of Toplitz, in Bohemia; he then retired to Gratz, in Styria, where he took up his residence as a private individual.

The Emperor was at the palace of Rambouillet when he received the intelligence of his brother's abdication. The first news of it had arrived at Paris in commercial letters; and as the official dispatches were silent on the subject, he felt apprehensive of some underhand plots going on in that country, of which the King's retirement would probably have been one of the results previously agreed on. This idea remained fixed for a short time upon his mind, until the general officer who commanded his troops in Holland dispelled every doubt, by the measures he had adopted for the purpose of preventing the Dutch troops from taking part in a foreign movement, which was believed to be connected with the party at whose instigation the King was supposed to have abdicated the crown.

The rigorous enforcement of the continental system had become the Emperor's sheet-anchor, inasmuch as no other means could be devised for compelling England to agree to a peace. That system, which had to stand such severe attacks

from public opinion, had been maturely weighed, and boldly carried into execution.

At the risk of anticipating a little upon the order of events, I may be allowed to call to my assistance, in this place, the unsuspected testimony of the Emperor Alexander.

During the year 1814, that monarch was in the habit of visiting the Empress Maria Louisa at the palace of Schönbrunn. He met there M. de Menneval, whom he soon recognised; and in the course of conversation he told him, that during his late excursion to England, after the peace of Paris, he was desirous of satisfying himself as to the practicability of the views contemplated by the continental system: he had not confined himself to mere oral information; he had visited Manchester, Birmingham, and the large manufacturing towns in England; he had seen, examined, and questioned with the utmost care; and brought back the conviction, that if the system had lasted another year, England must of necessity have yielded; the conception, he added, was a happy and a mighty one, the extent of which he had never viewed in its proper light.

What the Emperor Alexander's penetration had only discovered in 1814, had been foreseen in the outset by the genius of the Emperor Napoleon: he accordingly attached great importance to the carrying into effect a measure so effectual, and yet so little understood. Holland required to be more closely watched than any other part of Europe, in consequence of its numberless rivers, and the variety of forms which its commercial transactions assume.

The Emperor had often occasion to complain to King Louis of the neglect shown along the coast of his dominions in the execution of the system which interested both countries in an equal degree. Owing, however, to a spirit of opposition and obstinacy, which the Emperor was never able to overcome, and to his underhand proceedings, King Louis injured instead

of assisted him. It cannot be denied that his abdication and flight seriously affected the Emperor's cause in public opinion.

It was related to me by a person who was near the Emperor when he received the news of that event, that he never saw him so much struck with astonishment; he remained silent for a few moments, and after a kind of momentary stupor, suddenly appeared to be greatly agitated. He was not then aware of the influence which that circumstance would have over political affairs; his mind was exclusively taken up with his brother's ingratitude. His heart was ready to burst, when he exclaimed, "Was it possible to suspect so mischievous a conduct in the brother most indebted to me? When I was a mere lieutenant of artillery, I brought him up with the scanty means which my pay afforded me; I divided my bread with him; and this is the return he makes for my kindness!" The Emperor was so overpowered by his emotion, that his grief was said to have vented itself in sobs.

King Louis wished to claim credit to himself for descending from the throne without having amassed any fortune, and he propagated the report that he was living in distress at Gratz. He disdainfully refused the dowry which the Emperor allowed to the Queen, and inserted in foreign newspapers a protest against it. It does not become me to discuss a question of a personal nature; it would not, however, be difficult to enumerate all that Louis Bonaparte owed to the Emperor's bounty; and I might also relate how he treated his benefactor, who reproached him on his death-bed, by his political will, for having published against him a book supported by garbled and even false documents.

It never was the Emperor's wish to oppress Holland: he had even consented to every measure calculated to relieve the situation of the Dutch, without paralysing the effects of his system. He had granted licenses, and other commercial

privileges; but, in the aspect which public affairs had assumed, what course was he to pursue? Was he to abandon Holland to itself? Unquestionably so, if he intended it to become immediately a province of England, and to place us in a still more critical position towards the latter country.

This power had no greater desire than to treat separately with our allies, and leave us wholly out of the question; our only course to compel her to listen to our proposals, was to adhere to those allies, and even to oppress such as she was most interested in our dealing leniently with. In furtherance, therefore, of the policy to which Holland was compelled to submit, the Emperor had only two courses to adopt, under the circumstances in which he had been placed by the recent occurrence: the first was to take possession of Holland as a conquered country; the next, to unite it for good to the French empire. It remains to be considered which of these was the least injurious to Holland, and the most conducive to the interests of France.

In order to occupy Holland as a conquered country, it would have been necessary to send an army into it, and withdraw the native troops; this could only be effected by removing thither a portion of the troops engaged in Spain, which would have been a measure attended with serious inconveniences, as we could not spare a single regiment from Spain. A forced occupation of Holland would have, moreover, to be estimated with reference to its external defence, its many fortified towns, the maintenance of public order, and the submission of the people spread over a surface of country intersected by canals in every direction: the large towns alone would have required an army to overawe them in case of a favourable opportunity offering for a popular commotion. In the absence of such precautions, the danger would be incurred of an English army landing in Holland, where it would be supported by a general insurrection of the country, which would have afforded such efficient assistance as to

protect that army from the consequences of an attack, by interposing a multitude of obstacles in our way.

Whilst occupying Holland as a conquered country, it would have been requisite not to disturb its public functionaries, or its laws and usages, and yet to spread officers of the customs over the country, whose very name would have been sufficient to excite a commotion.

To add to all these inconveniences, Holland would have been necessarily subjected to a military government, against the arbitrary acts of which it could have no appeal. Thus situated, it would have suffered all the disadvantages attendant upon its annexation to France, without any of the benefits which might otherwise spring from it; such as being independent of the will of a general officer; having her representatives in the Senate, the Legislative Body, the Council of State, and the Court of Cassation; not being more burdened than any other French province; mixing up her national debt with that of France, which would guarantee the financial engagements of the Dutch government; and getting rid of the line of officers of the customs on its inland frontier.

The government of Holland had long ceased to have any other external existence than such as its former reputation had secured for it. All the sources of its public prosperity had been successively dried up; the very machinery of government had become a burden to it; and as the Dutch could not be entirely free, a great number of them preferred being united to France, rather than exposed to the incessant vexations which are inseparable from a perpetual change of government.

It would unquestionably have been desirable to avoid such an extremity; but the recent occurrence was wholly independent of the Emperor's will. If he had secretly entertained the project of annexing Holland to France, he had formerly been placed in circumstances more advantageous for doing so than those under which his brother's abdication compelled him to that course.

The Emperor would naturally have been better pleased had his brother resolved to bear the weight of government; but he felt unable to overcome his determination: it behoved him therefore to prevent the fatal effects it might have for France itself, previously to his taking the interests of the Dutch into consideration. Other motives also made him decide upon the definitive annexation of Holland, less, however, with the view of augmenting his own power, than because he was at a loss what other course to adopt. The Legislative Body was not assembled when he decreed the annexation; it was out of his power therefore to consult it.

This occupation of Holland created a great outcry in Europe, as it made a country disappear from its rank as a power, in the existence of which almost every European nation felt a lively interest. They all kept up an intercourse with it; it served as a bank for every other country. They all accordingly felt alarmed at the fate imposed upon Holland, and began an interchange of sentiments concerning that act of policy, which was displeasing to all. No attention was paid to the motives that influenced the Emperor. The motives of resistance to him found much readier acceptance; and if from that moment no regular communication was opened between them, they were at least unanimous on the subject. That act became the signal of a fresh crusade against the Emperor; and it was soon discovered that the several princes disposed to coalesce, only sought a leader to wield the sceptre of their league. I shall return to this point after noticing other details which ought to be mentioned in this place.

CHAPTER XXVI

Changes in the Dutch administration.—Effect produced in France by the annexation of Holland.—Death of the Prince of Augustemburg.—The crown of Sweden is offered to Bernadotte.—Condition in which the author finds the ministry of police.—Papers of the Orleans family.—The Emperor peruses them.—His observations.

In the annexation of Holland to France, every measure was adopted which was calculated to render the operation as little unpleasant to the Dutch as circumstances would permit. The Emperor enjoined that the most upright and distinguished individuals in the French administration should be sent there as prefects over the provinces: the same course was adopted in respect to every other branch of service: all were displaced except the mayors, and some persons belonging to the finance department.

The other Dutch functionaries came to occupy in France the places of those Frenchmen who had been sent to fill their situations in Holland. No means were neglected that offered any prospect of completely harmonising the institutions of the two countries, and stifling the very germ of internal dissensions; an object, however, which failed of success; because the commercial interests of the Dutch rendered them deaf to every proposal that fell short of restoring their freedom of navigation, which was rapidly declining. Every thing was left to the effect of time; but this expectation was dispelled by a succession of unfortunate events.

The annexation of Holland was looked upon in France with an evil eye, as it was foreseen that it would rekindle the war, and as an extension of power, which baffled even the calcula-

tions of men of no ordinary capacity, appeared quite preposterous. Many were the censurers of independent and fearless characters, whose sound reflections respecting such an augmentation of territory were listened to with attention.

The opinion continued to prevail that the Emperor would definitively unite to France whatever countries he thought proper, and that the limit of those annexations was dependent upon the period when his enemies might, on their own part, restore what they had united to their dominions, in virtue of titles as unsound as those to which he might lay claim. Whilst censurers exercised their powers of criticism, courtiers were found lavish of their praise; and it had become the fashion to consult history, for the purpose of ascertaining what had been the greatest extent of the Roman empire in the height of its glory and splendour; as if it were disgraceful on the part of France to stop short until she had acquired an equal extension of territory. The Emperor's determination was uninfluenced by the language of either party. His operations had an object in view, which he did not even impart to those who might perhaps have most effectually promoted them; and, in the meanwhile, they were misrepresented by insignificant courtiers, whose artful malevolence was not slow in taking advantage of them.

An unaccountable death carried off, at this period, the Prince of Augustemburg, whom the diet of Sweden had chosen for hereditary prince of their country, the sovereign of which was far advanced in years, and had not any children.

This event imposed upon the Swedes the necessity of proceeding to a fresh election, and they indicated the intention of making a choice which would bring them into closer connexion with France. Their advances were not rejected. Marshal Bernadotte was known to them by public report; they had been in communication with, and kindly treated by

him during the war of 1809. They felt inclined to give him the preference over every other. The Emperor was not sorry for it. Although Marshal Bernadotte had occasionally excited his displeasure, he still entertained an old friendship for all who had served in Italy; so that he not only did not oppose the diet's choice, which was in fact a sort of homage rendered to the French army, out of whose ranks they came to select a king to govern them; but he even approved of it, and afforded to Marshal Bernadotte all the means he stood in need of to enable him to make his appearance in Sweden in a manner suitable to the rank he was about to fill. He presented him with a million of francs out of his own private funds.

This was the period at which I first entered upon my new functions; and I could already discover in what was said respecting the annexation of Holland the counterpart of what had been reported with respect to Spain.

Whatever may have been the course adopted by my predecessor, it afforded me no clue to the path I ought to follow in order to succeed in those means which appeared to me the best calculated to remove the unfavourable impression on the public mind. I had been wont to believe that the administration now placed in my charge was a power in itself, and I found it a mere phantom of power. I could only illustrate my position by fancying myself placed in a drum, which was beaten upon by every one without my being able to distinguish any thing beyond the mere sounds. I inquired of all around me what course M. Fouché had adopted, and generally received for reply, that it was his practice to allow matters to take their course when he could not arrest their progress.

I was as much ashamed of the dilemma in which I found myself, as vexed at my inability to overcome it; and if I had not been encouraged by some worthy men, whom I discovered in my own department, and whose value had not been properly appreciated, I should have followed the example of

King Louis. I gradually acquired courage, and with it my confidence returned. I was fortunately gifted with a wonderful memory for names and places, which served me on more than one occasion.

I clearly saw that M. Fouché had deceived me, when he destroyed the private papers of his administration,* and I resolved to strike out a system for myself. Never in my life had I yet employed police agents. I was not indeed sufficiently acquainted with that class of people amongst whom it was necessary to disperse those agents, to be able to give them a precise direction, without subjecting myself to be marked out.

My circumscribed acquaintance with the men of the revolution with whom my functions compelled me to be in daily contact, impressed me with the necessity of seeking in the past for those means of precaution which might be applied to the future with a good effect.

Ever since the days of my boyhood I had felt a strong aversion to the Duke of Orleans: it grew out of the opinions generally prevailing at the period of my entrance into the service, and had acquired strength by all that I heard ever since our saloons had become the resort of the scattered fragments of all parties.

I was engaged for upwards of a month in a private perusal of the voluminous mass of papers belonging to the Duke of Orleans, which were still in the condition in which they were brought to the ministry after their seizure; and, although frequently interrupted, I at last accomplished the task.

The perusal of those papers removed many erroneous im-

* During the two last years of his administration M. Fouché had caused a careful search to be made for all the writings published during the revolution, in which his patriotism was highly lauded, such as his correspondence with the committee of public safety, when he was appointed their commissioner at Lyons; and he consigned all those writings to the flames.

pressions from my mind. I discovered some of a singular character, inasmuch as they were written by men from whom I was in the habit of hearing attacks against the Duke of Orleans; and yet I had proofs under my eyes that they were greatly indebted to him. I even found receipts for money advanced; and in the greater part an acknowledgment, expressed in terms which left no doubt of the motive.

I selected such of those papers as related to men whom I saw very assiduous in their attendance at the Tuileries, and to others who sought to acquire credit at court.

I carried them one day to the Emperor, at the palace of Rambouillet, where, from the comparative absence of company, more opportunities could be found for entering into private conversation with him. Being incapable of practising any deception, I told him that, overcome by an apprehension of any future self-reproach, whilst in his service, and by a desire of clearing up what I had at all times heard respecting the Duke of Orleans, I would neither trust to my own judgment, nor to a future opportunity, and had collected from the archives of the house of Orleans, which were deposited in my department, the documents I now brought to him, some of which were caloulated to excite his curiosity. The Emperor said to me, on taking them out of my hands, "I was confident the archives of that house were deposited at the ministry of police, but was told they were not to be found; this serves to prove, either that they were not sought for, or were considered unimportant."

I accompanied him to the place to which he resorted for his walks, under the windows of the palace, close to the large pond, where he read all the papers from beginning to end, an occupation which lasted some time. He then spoke in the following terms: "You see how little we should trust to appearances: you had a prejudice against this prince, and if you had found an opportunity of injuring any one of his party, you would have been carried away by the feelings of

resentment which had perhaps been instilled into your mind by those very persons who were under obligations to him. You were right, therefore, in making this search; such ought always to be your rule of conduct. I am well satisfied that the Duke of Orleans was not a bad man. Had he been disgraced by the vices laid to his charge, nothing could have prevented his executing the project he was said to have entertained. He was nothing more than a lever in the hands of the agitators of that period, who involved him in their proceedings in order to find a pretence for extorting money from him; and it now appears, that when their first demands were complied with, they no longer kept within bounds.

"It ought not even to surprise us if those who were his debtors had concerted together the means of securing a discharge of their obligations, and brought about his ruin, by stirring up the public indignation against him. The fact is, that the Duke of Orleans found himself placed in extraordinary circumstances, which it was impossible for him to foresee when he embarked in the revolution; a proof that he acted with the same frankness which animated all France on the occasion. What other course was he to pursue? The exasperation of contending parties at that period had shut him out from foreign countries. I do not approve of what he did; but I pity him, and would not answer for any one who might have been thrown by chance into a similar situation. The lesson is an awful one, which will be treasured up in the pages of history.

"I can feel no interest in the matter. I readily believe that there has existed a party of the Duke of Orleans during the period of our internal discords; I even think it might revive were the throne to become vacant; but, so long as I live, it is a chimerical idea, which will never win over any proselytes.

"Every one has now what he hoped for, and even beyond his hopes; do you not therefore suppose that he would con-

sider himself as secure in his possessions under my sway as under the Duke of Orleans? You may judge how many persons there are whose very existence would be in danger if I were susceptible of fear, in consequence of what you have shown to me; I should not, in fact, deem myself secure with any one, because I should be constantly annoyed by meddlers; and when once measures of severity are resorted to, the wisest know not where to stop. You now have my sentiments on the subject, and are no longer to allude to it without serious grounds for doing so. Consign all that trash to the flames, and do not molest any of the parties: never let them know that I have read those papers, for it would throw them into a painful embarrassment: there are many upon whom I set great value; they imagined at the time they were adopting a proper course: they were, perhaps, in the right.

"I adhere to no other party than the mass of the nation. Endeavour to reconcile all opinions; it is essentially my policy to unite them. I must govern with the assistance of all, without looking back to the actions of each: all have rallied round me, in order to enjoy security and repose; if every thing were to become problematical again, I should be immediately deserted."

CHAPTER XXVIII.

M. Fouché makes the author acquainted with a few subaltern agents of the police—Means adopted for discovering the others—The author meets with no opposition—His oratory is resorted to—Saints of all classes abound in it—Intriguers of Paris—Intriguers in the higher classes of society during the summer—Masked balls—Generosity of the Emperor—The females of Paris.

M. FOUCHÉ had deceived me when he pointed out to my notice certain agents, who were the dregs of society, and had been excluded from his company, with the exception of one or two individuals, who consented that he should present them to me. These are the only ones he made me acquainted with. I determined, however, not to be too proud: I conversed with all for the purpose of learning from themselves what was the nature of their employment. Some I found whose outward appearance did not correspond with their merit, and I had reason to applaud my generosity towards them. My first attempt was to recover by stratagem all the threads of the machinery which my predecessor had thrown away with a malicious intention. I soon succeeded by natural means, which my own penetration suggested to me.

In all extensive branches of administration there is to be found a register of addresses, in order that the letter-carriers employed *ad hoc* may know from what point they are to set out in order to shorten their rounds. The register of the ministry of police presented an ample display of that nature. It was kept by the office messengers; and as I felt desirous of disguising my plan, I selected a particular night when I could dismiss the people about me; and I gave a long errand to the messenger whose turn it was to be on duty, allowing him afterwards to retire to rest instead of waiting upon me. He was no sooner gone than I took away the register, as well

as the bundle of receipts which the police commissioners carefully preserve in the event of any demand being made respecting the non-delivery of letters.

I shut myself up in my study for the purpose of making a statement of those addresses, which in some cases pointed out the professions of the parties. I passed the night in taking a copy of the register and in selecting from the bundle of receipts all those which bore the same date, and that date corresponding with the day on which M. Fouché drew up the list of the guests invited to his official dinners, which took place on Wednesdays, and during the winter only: these attracted my curiosity much less than the names of those for whose visits to the ministry of police I was at a loss to account. When this work was gone through, I returned the papers to the place from whence I had taken them.

I had a long legend of names and addresses, some of them not unknown to me, though I should as soon have sought for them in China as upon this catalogue.

The description of several names was only given by a capital letter: I readily treasured them up as being the most valuable, and succeeded in discovering the parties by the stratagem I shall have to relate, and which the embarrassment of my situation rendered the more excusable as it originated in another motive than mere idle curiosity.

I divided my catalogue of addresses into districts, or twelve portions, and desired an agent in each district to furnish me a detailed note of the rank of each individual set down, his country, the time he had been in Paris, his means of existence, his occupations, and character; without alleging any motive for my inquiries, they fully answered my object; for there is no city in Europe where a person can be so easily found out as in Paris, if once known there. It required no conjurer to discover the utility of that information, and I felt no apprehension of considering some individuals as being well calculated to serve my views, who had been the very agents

of my predecessor. I summoned them to appear by notes written in the third person, and without fixing any hour for giving them audience; merely taking care to send for them on different days. They were exact to the appointment, and naturally fell into their old habits of coming at night. The door-keeper of my closet, when he announced them, handed me the notes I had written to them, and which had been their means of admission into my hotel. Previously, however, to receiving them, I detained the messenger for a moment, and asked him if such a gentleman or lady often came to see the Duke of Otranto, and at what hour they visited him. He was in general well acquainted with every one. I thus contrived to discover what kind of reception I ought to give to the person whose name was announced to me, and who came with the impression that every thing had been repeated to me by my predecessor, as otherwise they could not have been found out. I always pretended as if my information was derived from M. Fouché himself; and, by the promise of perfect secrecy, I soon procured the renewal of their intercourse with my department.

The names beginning with capital letters were soon added to the number. With the view to discover the individuals, I had recourse to police agents of long standing, who called at all the houses bearing the numbers set down in the note of particulars respecting those whose names began with a capital letter. Several were found whose name began by the same letter. I had a similar inquiry set on foot respecting each, and when embarrassed by the similarity of names, it occurred to me to write to them again in the third person, putting nothing more than the capital letter, which was the only indication I possessed respecting them. I sent the letters by my office messengers, who were generally known to the porters, owing to their occasional appearance; and as the latter are well acquainted with every movement of those who inhabit the houses under their care, they never failed handing the

letter to the person for whom it was intended, though there was no other address upon it than a capital letter; so accustomed were they to take in letters folded and sealed in the same manner. The person to whom it was delivered imagined that all was discovered, and only thought about entering into new arrangements, though quite at a loss to account for being made known to the new minister without his previous consent to it. The porter would sometimes deliver to such person the two letters bearing for address nothing but the same capital character, a proof that I was correct in my surmise; and that person would produce both on coming to my closet, and remark that he had no doubt they had been twice written to by mistake. It was easy to keep him under this impression, as each letter appointed a different day for waiting upon me. I thereby succeeded in finding out all the sources of information of which M. Fouché had availed himself, and which I had imagined to be much more numerous and more valuable than they actually proved. It occasionally happened that the porter of the house where two inmates of the same name resided had been changed, and that the new porter delivered the letters to the two persons for whom he supposed they were intended. They accordingly both made their appearance; but, as the door-keeper knew the right person, I was at no loss to find in the note produced by the other some pretence to account for his being summoned to appear. I resorted to another means of coming at the track of my predecessor's proceedings. I ordered my cashier to inform me when the regular hangers-on should present themselves to receive money: by regular hangers-on I meant such only as had no ostensible duties to perform. Pride kept them all back the first month; but, on reflection, they afterwards found that no trade is so bad as that of a proud man; they came, under some pretext or other, to inquire at the office if the payments would be continued. I gave audience to every one, made no reduction in the emoluments, and considerably increased the salaries of the greater part of those whom I em-

ployed and of those who worked under my immediate orders. I derived some advantage from this kind of novitiate, to which I was forced to submit, in order to create a system, by substituting fresh means to those which ought to have been left by my predecessor at my disposal; but I had not yet succeeded in coming at any valuable source of information. I could not believe that every thing was known to me, as I had not wherewith to exhaust one half of the sum assigned by the Emperor to this branch of the service, though nearly the whole amount had hitherto been absorbed when the year had come to a close.

Another instructive lesson, which I derived from this little stratagem, was to discover the possibility of coming into contact with society under a variety of forms, which I formerly never should have ventured to hint at to any individual. This enabled me to judge to what degree of esteem men's characters are entitled; what price is to be set upon the pliability of each; a price necessarily depending upon their position, their loose habits of life, and proneness to irregular and improper pursuits.

With respect to others, I resorted to indirect means of obtaining the same object; I considered that a man was sufficiently unfortunate when reduced to act in this character; and thought it more to my advantage to raise, rather than degrade them in their self-estimation. In the case of a few this course was attended with success. I received their information, and rewarded them with thanks. These few have shown me attention when fortune had forsaken me; the rest have dismissed me from their recollection; some have even gone so far as to heap calumnies upon my character.

The information, however limited, which I thus acquired, gave me the courage to seek the means of extending it. I soon discovered that I had been frightened at a mere shadow. I had carried my inquiries so far, that I could hardly trust to my success. After having thus furnished my oratory with votaries, it became my object to find employment for them.

The higher society, as well as the society composed of commercial people and citizens, is divided into coteries. I was not long in making the requisite classification; and did it in so effectual a manner, as to be rarely mistaken in the names of those who had attended an assembly, a ball, or what was then termed a *bouillotte*, whenever I came to be apprised of the existence of one in any private house.* It is not to be inferred from this that great importance was attached to all that was said at such parties; it would have been as difficult to collect on those occasions any matter really useful to my purpose, as to count the grains of sand on the seashore. The utmost degree of watchfulness was, however, exerted to discover if those meetings were not taken advantage of to spread evil reports, or unfavourable intelligence, such as projects of war, or fresh financial schemes. The mischievous hawkers of bad news generally took especial care to disseminate them in those societies which they knew to be composed of persons whose interests were more likely to suffer from the events reported to them. When an opportunity presented itself, the official looker-on would listen to the news-bearer, and by engaging to conversation with him, seldom failed to discover where he had picked up the news with which he took so much pains to alarm the peaceful part of the community. This is the manner in which a list was eventually formed of all the reporters of idle stories; and when they exposed themselves to punishment by their conduct, they were called to a very severe account for all their past indiscreet language.

There is to be found in Paris a certain class of people who subsist upon the credulousness and good-nature of others: they have a decided interest in being apprised of every thing, whether true or false; they put down in their account-current, if I may use this figurative expression, every thing they

* The higher society and commercial people of the first class had fixed assemblies during the week. The class of citizens generally selected Sundays.

happen to learn. These trifles are the coin in which they pay for their dinner, or their admission to the theatre; they bring for their stock some piece of news, which they exchange for another. These are truly valuable men for a minister of police; he may make sure of their aid, in return for helping them out of some scrape, in which they never fail to involve themselves. Their employment is to give publicity to whatever news it is wished to spread abroad, and to find out the source from whence has emanated any news which it is desirable to suppress.

The progress of intrigue never slackens, because there are never-ending wants which compel its promoters to have their minds incessantly at work. An intriguer who is inactive soon finds his way to the hospital; an active one, on the contrary, would reap a harvest from an egg-shell.

An intriguer is thoroughly informed of the tender connexions of all his friends: always ready to advise either lover, he sets them by the ears, in order to bring about a reconciliation between them: he watches every feeling of animosity and passion: he invites some to partake in his own unbridled pleasures, and watches on those occasions the looseness of their morals; for his vigilance is particularly directed to places of improper resort. If in the night-time you desire to find out a man of pleasure, he instinctively knows at what rendezvous of gallantry he is to be found, the restorateur he may have patronised, the theatre he has frequented. If a giddy woman is the object of inquiry, the mere description is enough for him to point her out.

In no town in the world, however small, can a person be found out more quickly than in Paris.

In summer time, when the higher society have retired to their country residences, there are less facilities for discovering what it is wished to find out; but even then an infallible resource presents itself. Country parties possess attractions in very great variety. A little familiarity with good company is sufficient to procure, before the close of the

season, a correct knowledge of all country parties intended to be given from the end of June until the month of November. It is known that such a company is to assemble at a certain residence in such a month; it proceeds to another residence in the succeeding month, and is replaced by other company. They thus travel the round of a province; and those visitors seldom omit, on their return, to report all they have seen or heard in their excursions; and if it be particularly desired to obtain information of what has occurred at every one of those country-houses, it generally happens that what is thus innocently related, will lead you into the track of what it is of much greater importance for you to discover.

The greater part of those country residences employ messengers, who carry to the nearest post-office the letters of the party assembled, and bring others back from it in like manner. If any thing of consequence was going on, there are a hundred ways of finding out the truth, because real innocence assumes no disguise; and when it comes into contact with guilty persons, it lays their conduct open with perfect candour. Whatever the imagination of some weak or unreasonable minds construed into vexatious proceedings, was ascribed by them to an inquisitive system adopted by the Emperor, whilst those proceedings were wholly occasioned by the animosity of a few individuals, who assumed the mantle of authority, the better to gratify their private revenge. I have known some persons who fancied that the Emperor bore them ill-will; and I have since ascertained that he either was not acquainted with their names, or only entertained a favourable opinion of them.

It was generally supposed that the Emperor felt great interest in breaking through the privacy of domestic affairs, and in being made acquainted with every particular concerning them: I even know that, speaking on this subject, M. Fouché has presumed to use the following expressions:— "You little know the Emperor; he would feel a pleasure in

cooking every one's dinner." He used these words to myself. If there ever was any one amongst the ministers of police to whom the Emperor would have felt no hesitation in confiding the petty details that might have excited his curiosity, I am assuredly that person. Now I can safely declare that, during the four years I held that situation, he never once asked me for particulars concerning the family affairs of any one, except when it was question of bestowing an appointment to which a certain consideration was attached, and which claimed, as in the instance of a prefecture, the respect of a portion of society, or of a whole country: he then required that the individual's character should be perfectly unblemished; and I have known cases in which the discredit entailed upon a family, by the misconduct of one of its members, would deprive it of a lucrative situation, which it would otherwise have acquired.

It was, nevertheless, a matter of astonishment, that the Emperor should have known a multitude of trifling stories, which it was imagined he never could have learned except through the minister of police. I thought so too until I came to hold the place. The Emperor's source of information was as follows:—He was not always confined to his closet, but frequently received company; he was fond of society, particularly that of the fair sex; and it must be acknowledged that, for the last quarter of a century, this sex has adopted a mode of passing time, and a kind of occupation so widely different from their pursuits in former days, when, with accomplishments no less brilliant, they took more pains to cultivate and adorn their minds, that a woman can hardly speak of her neighbour without bringing in calumny for the principal topic of conversation. The consequence was, that jealousy and a spirit of rivalry in the demand for favours gave rise to serious acts of indiscretion, and to the propagation of calumnious reports. During winter, there were masked balls at court, the only amusements at which the Emperor

could assume a disguise, and converse without restraint. I have often been in his suite on those occasions, as well as at the masked balls at the grand opera. The society at the court balls, though numerous, was very select: all were aware of being in the best company; and yet many gross and unblushing snares were laid at those balls. Can it be supposed that the Emperor felt it necessary to require that the minister of police should make him acquainted with such trifles as there occurred? He had instructions of much higher importance to give him; and there were courtiers to be found sufficiently disposed to relate even more than he could have desired to hear, if he had once allowed them to annoy him with such ridiculous stories. I owe it to truth, however, to acknowledge that he has generally called for certain particulars from me relating to private families, at two periods in the year, at Christmas, and on the 15th of August, the day of his festival.

He named the families himself; and had no other object in view than to be made acquainted with their circumstances, in order to afford them relief. I have known of several donations of a hundred thousand francs which he has made at one time to the same family, and many of a lesser sum. The secret is not mine, and I am not at liberty to divulge it; but those who have tasted of those bounties, and shall read these Memoirs, will be able to declare whether or not my assertion is founded in fact.

I have received a score of letters from him, in which he often desired me to report on the pecuniary circumstances of the families of general officers with whose services he had reason to be satisfied.

The first letters which he wrote to me related to the individuals banished from the capital, and to the state-prisoners. I shall hereafter advert to them.

It is but doing justice to the female part of the society of Paris to acknowledge, to their praise, that an inquiry into

their private habits is calculated to raise them in public estimation. I have had many proofs of the calumnies heaped upon them; and, with the exception of a small number of women, whose hearts pine after celebrity, I do not believe there exists a country presenting so many examples of that elevation of soul, which displays itself in a faithful performance of every duty; and I have also perceived that those who claimed the right of aspersing their character were the very men whom they treated with most indifference.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Position in which the author is placed—Fresh organization of the police—Commissaries in the several departments—Various improvements—Public conveyances—Anecdote on this subject.

After I had made a division of the societies of Paris, I considered of the means of extending a watchful superintendence over the several classes of artisans inhabiting the suburbs: this was rather the duty of the prefect of police; but I felt desirous to possess the means of finding out a clue to any public disturbance, in the event of my not being satisfied with the reports I should receive from the prefecture: it was nothing more than a measure of precaution. I had already discovered that the most powerful instrument of my administration was to bring every element of hatred and rivalry into contact, at the same time that it became its duty to prevent the evil effects of those passions. There certainly is danger in proceeding by such a method; and nothing short of the greatest personal probity can afford any self-protection against the abuse of it, or against being deceived by information originating in animosity or some secret vice. I seldom resorted to this course except with the view of acquiring a knowledge of events anterior to my charge, which was indis-

pensable towards making me acquainted with the different characters with whom I was in daily intercourse. I was a perfect stranger to the revolution. I had been in no way connected with the national assemblies, the clubs, the horrors of the civil war, and was consequently ignorant of whatever related to men who had acquired some notoriety in those different circumstances, and who nevertheless held, for the most part, some lucrative employments. The men of the revolution had considered all public places as their property. In the midst of this chaos, I felt like a blind man groping his way. People readily partook of my excellent dinners; the carriages formed a long line from the entrance to my hotel: I kept up an imposing appearance: the company I received every Monday seldom fell short of four hundred visitors. Had I, however, been under the necessity of drawing a conclusion, or of forming my opinion from what had been said to me on those bustling assembly nights, I should have led others astray, and told any thing but the truth. My eyes were open to this, and I accordingly turned in another direction for a safe guide.

I stood alone, without a party or flatterers to encourage me; not that I had any concealed views which compelled me to resort to them; but, in the land I lived in, and on the ground I occupied, I was sowing with the intention to reap. I required some weapon against the shafts of ridicule, the most powerful enemy which a placeman in France can have to contend with. I determined therefore to make myself a party of dependents; and as all my colleagues had ten years the start of me in their respective places, during which they had greatly strengthened their own parties, it behoved me to reach the goal at the same time, by striking out as many new paths as would bring me up with them in the race.

I began by claiming, in right of my office, the nomination to all the places subordinate to the prefecture of police: they were considerable in number, and the more suitable to my

views, as they extended to a great distance, and furnished ready means of information in the event of any disturbance. I preferred the report of an eye-witness to any occurrence to a report cautiously drawn up in a closet, from which any thing calculated to criminate an individual whom it was wished to patronise had been carefully omitted. I was anxious to know the truth, and relied sufficiently on my own judgment not to fear my being imposed upon; besides which, if favour was to be bestowed upon any one, it was particularly my desire to be the immediate dispenser of it. This was a set-off against the most unpleasant duties a man could have to perform.

I found some difficulty in securing to myself the nomination to places in the prefecture of police, which was only accomplished by an imperial decree. The Emperor himself was rather reluctant to alter existing regulations; and I had first to satisfy him that I claimed the right to those nominations wholly for the good of his service.

I was then enabled to create means of information for myself; and all the persons employed in the prefecture benefited by the change; because they thenceforward depended for advancement upon the manner in which they performed their duties, and were not, as heretofore, exposed to the consequences of unfavourable reports.

I succeeded gradually in appointing useful commissaries of police in large and small towns. I took care that they should not only be men of good education, but of that penetrating and clear mind which follows up an information without ever departing from the rules of civility, and without any injury accruing to society from their proceedings. I took care to reward those whose exertions were productive of advantage without their having raised any murmur against them, and altered the station of every one against whose conduct complaints had been made; but I never forsook a man of bold and unflinching character, who was unsparing of his person when it was question of acquiring information.

When I found an agent placed at a station where his talents were confined within too narrow bounds, I had him removed to a wider field of action.

My arrangements were now sufficiently extensive, though they served me rather as resources in case of need, than as positive means of information; and I resolved to establish certain regulations respecting the police of servants, a class of people in Paris who form of themselves an army. What decided me to adopt this course, was my observing that most robberies were committed by servants; and all persons detained on a criminal charge were of that class.

Less inquiries are made in Paris than in any other town in the world when a person offers himself as a servant in a family.

Any opportunity afforded by a want of proper care on the part of society will never escape the penetration of bad men; it is to them a fruitful harvest. When a robber escapes from a prison or the galleys, he makes his way to Paris; begins by engaging as a servant, in order to have opportunities of knowing his companions, and of making his private remarks under his master's own roof and protection. It is difficult to subdivide that numerous class of men so as to establish a rigid system of watchfulness over them. Nevertheless, under M. Pasquier's administration, I succeeded in effecting this object.

I had no other object in view than to protect private families when I proposed the measure which would go to forbid any one from taking a servant unless his little book were countersigned at the prefecture of police. Those little books resembled the books which are distributed amongst the soldiery.

On the first leaf were written the name, age, and description; the names of the father and mother; the country and business; the date of arrival in Paris, and a specification of the certificates of good conduct.

If householders had not taken some servants unprovided with these little books, all servants would have been compelled to present themselves at the prefecture, for the purpose of obtaining such a book; and this office would have taken advantage of the circumstance to register them all, and draw up lists in alphabetical order, which might have afterwards been consulted with the view of ascertaining whether they presented any names or descriptions corresponding in any way with the persons who were the objects of inquiry.

According to the measure which I proposed for adoption a householder was to take possession of the note-book to be exhibited by his servant; and when he sent him away, he was to write in it the day on which he had left his service, without adding any reflections whatever; these he might send separately, but not put them down in the book, in order to save the poor servants from the consequences of any act of injustice. He did not hand the book back to the servant, but sent it to the prefecture, where they recorded in the notice which applied to the servant in question the fact of his having quitted the house where he had been in service, and the grounds of his dismissal, if the master had communicated them.

The servant was required to present himself at the prefecture within a short lapse of time to take away his book, otherwise he would suffer an imprisonment of as many days as he had delayed conforming to the rule, as well as the master of the house where he may have been admitted to lodge without his being called upon to produce his book.

This measure, although purely administrative in its nature, unobjectionable in all its clauses, very little complicated, and calculated to produce the most useful results, met, nevertheless, with opposition in the Council of State. Some persons of a suspicious turn of mind saw in my proposal nothing else than a system of prying directed against themselves, and

their clamour against it bordered upon frenzy. It would have failed of success had it not been for M. Pasquier, who pointed out its advantages, and whose sound views overpowered all opposition. His opinion prevailed: the measure was carried into effect; and in the very first months it was the means of placing at the disposal of the administration from nine hundred to a thousand individuals, as far as I recollect, who were all either deserters from the army, or runaways from prisons, or the galleys, as well as fugitives from their native country in consequence of legal prosecutions. They became spies upon each other, a course which worked well for a short time.

I felt anxious to avail myself of this apparently favourable moment to organise also the drivers of hackney-coaches and cabriolets, of which there are about three thousand in the city of Paris. But notwithstanding the imperative reasons I urged for the adoption of my views, I met from the Council of State the same opposition as before, and was under the necessity of renouncing them.

My object was to divide the hackney-coaches, as well as the cabriolets of Paris into companies of twenty-five each, and to farm them out. One contractor would have signed his name for one or more companies. Several would have associated together, and likewise signed their names for one or more companies. The conditions would have been, that the coaches of one company should have a uniform colour, and that the horses of the company should also be of one colour: the drivers were to carry cloaks of a colour corresponding with that of their coaches, and to wear glazed hats: the horses to be brought every month before veterinary surgeons, and a penalty to be imposed for every horse found attacked with farcy, the glanders, or any other disease. A fine was equally to be imposed in case the harness was not in a sound condition; the latter fine to be borne by the driver, if the traces or any part of the harness should happen

to break during his drive. A still heavier fine would be imposed upon the contractor if either the coach or a wheel should break down, and the persons inside should be compelled to get out previously to reaching their destination.

The advantage of these rules for the administration was, in the first place, that they would have competent guarantees in the contractors: secondly, the coaches would be in a more decent condition, and would do better service: and lastly, the horses would be far more efficient, and so sound, as no longer to expose other horses near them to the danger of any contagious disorder. A farther advantage would have been attained in a point of view to which the administration was by no means indifferent.

There are hackney-coaches in Paris bearing numbers consisting of four cyphers: it requires some stretch of memory to recollect them: whereas, by numbering them only according to their company, nothing could be easier than for a person to say, for instance, "I had the twentieth coach of the first company." If engaged at night, as all the horses of one company would be of the same colour, and the coach itself would have a determinate colour, every one on retiring from a party might easily say, "At such an hour, and in such a street, I hired a yellow-painted coach with grey horses." Thus the company is at once pointed out. I have only to discover which of the twenty-five coachmen was in the quarter where the coach had been engaged, an inquiry of no difficulty, because those who have nothing to reproach themselves with will always tell the truth; whereas the guilty person will be the last to appear, if he has not presented himself at once.*

* I arrived at Paris in the month of November, 1797, with one of my comrades, who had a bag of one thousand two hundred francs about his person. We got out of the diligence in the Rue des Fossés St. Victor between six and seven o'clock at night, and took a coach to proceed to our hotel in the Rue de Richelieu. On arriving, we removed our baggage from the coach in such a hurry, that my comrade forgot his bag of money.

Had I succeeded in procuring the adoption of this measure, every stand in Paris would, in less than a twelvemonth, have been composed of respectable coaches, with decent-looking drivers, and solid harness; and the wretched public vehicles in use would have disappeared. This farther advantage would have been gained, that the drivers, who are men capable of embarking in any mischief, would have been subject to an examination, and placed under the responsibility of the contractors, who could not have taken any that were unprovided with the note-book from the prefecture of police.

M. Pasquier failed in his endeavours to carry this measure through, although founded upon correct principles and the best administrative views. I was therefore compelled to leave in the condition in which I found them those filthy receptacles for all bad subjects, who thus eluded the researches, however active, which were made in pursuit of them. I had heard great praises bestowed upon the administration of M. Le Noir, who was lieutenant of police at the close of the reign

We were both very young. It was an opera night, and we determined to end the day at the theatre. The performance was nearly over, when my comrade recollected his bag. It was useless to run after the hackney-coach; neither of us had taken down its number. He was greatly perplexed, when an idea suddenly came to my mind.

I had observed that the coach was painted white, and had a horse of the same colour, with another of a different one.

I told him that the coachman might not have taken any notice of our mistake, and in such case might have stationed himself near the opera in hopes of taking some one home in his direction; that we could not do better than go about examining all the coaches in the vicinity of the opera-house. In fact, we discovered our coach, which was one of the headmost in the line of carriages that were to be first engaged at the breaking up of the opera. We stepped into it, and desired the coachman to take us to the Rue des Fossés St. Victor. He did not recognise us. We began to search the coach, and found the bag, which he had thrown, however, inside the seat. As he was passing before the door of our hotel, we stopped him. He saw us stepping out with the money, but did not even venture to claim any thing, feigning not to know that he had such a bag in his coach; and he no doubt repented his wish to gain a three-frank piece by remaining until the opera was over.

of Louis XVI. I was desirous that the system of the prefecture should surpass his own; and it had already been carried so far, as to perform what would have baffled M. Le Noir's ingenuity, though the duties were more easily carried on in his time than they can be at present.

Previous to the year 1790 the privileges of freemen were still in existence; those privileges naturally divided the population into professions. The corporations of different trades were also in existence, and created a separation in the most bustling part of the community. The horse and foot patrole were, moreover, under the orders of the lieutenant of police, and thus furnished M. Le Noir with immense resources for ascertaining, as well as for arresting the progress of any unpleasant occurrences, and even preventing them altogether. When I first entered upon my functions, the municipal forces of Paris itself were, on the contrary, under the orders of the military commandant of the capital and the immediate authority of the minister of the war department. It was not until a year afterwards that I was allowed to raise that legion of horse and foot gendarmes, which is still kept up, and to place it under the direct orders of the prefect of police.

At the expiration of a few months, I had so established my system as to be correctly informed of every arrival by the mail and other public conveyances, as well as of every departure from the principal French cities for the metropolis. This was not an indispensable information; but it formed part of the materials relied on for any inquiries it might be found necessary to resort to.

This mode of superintendence answered every purpose when it was question of ascertaining the origin and cause of any event; but I had not discovered the key to a knowledge of any thing in contemplation which it might be of the utmost importance to prevent. Another idea suggested itself to me, which was to leave to the prefecture of police the duty of

watching over Paris, with which I was growing sufficiently well acquainted to understand the reports made to me; and I began to consider the capital under another aspect.

CHAPTER XXX.

Persons under banishment—State-prisoners—Madame d'Aveaux—Recall of the banished persons of the Fauxbourg St. Germain—The ancient nobility attend the Emperor's court—Messrs. de Polignac are released from the castle of Vincennes.

PROCEEDING to relate the events in the order of their occurrence, I must recall to the reader's recollection that the Emperor had directed me to make a report respecting the persons under banishment and the state-prisoners.

The first decree of banishment was dated in 1805, after the return from the battle of Austerlitz, and was, I think, applied to fourteen individuals. I was anxious to give my personal attention to the materials which were to be the basis of the report I was desirous of making to the Emperor on the subject; and it then came to my knowledge that the Emperor was ignorant of the smallest details concerning the parties affected by that measure. He knew not what I meant when I spoke to him about them. I felt some curiosity to discover, with certainty, the grounds upon which he was applied to for an order to banish those fourteen individuals. The following is the most correct account I can give of the intrigue of which they were made the victims: I have related that, during the year 1805, whilst the Emperor was engaged in his campaign of Austerlitz, the bank-notes and public funds had experienced a rapid decline, which subjected the minister of police to the Emperor's displeasure. The minister excused himself

by saying, that the Fauxbourg St. Germain (which was a ready auxiliary to help him out) was poisoning public opinion by every kind of idle reports; from that quarter had emanated the unfavourable news, the doubts thrown out respecting the success of the army, &c. &c. The Emperor grew angry, and ordered the matter to be inquired into. The minister of police was then under the necessity of explaining himself, and of pointing out the persons whom he considered the most guilty of dealing in those reports; and he was instructed to direct their retiring to their respective estates. A general outcry was raised against this measure; and fearing it would be ascribed to him, as it was quite impossible he could succeed in persuading that the Emperor, whilst at the head of his army, attached any importance to idle conversations, which he could only have known through the reports from the police, the minister took particular care to acquaint the persons to whom the sentence of banishment applied, that he was a total stranger to what was happening to them; and that the Emperor, who had police agents in every direction, had given him a positive order, which admitted of no mitigation. M. Fouché never failed to name me as the person whom he believed to be commissioned by the Emperor for obtaining secret information. He granted them some delay previous to their departure, and contrived to send them away satisfied with his explanation, and very far from supposing that he had himself been the cause of the order sent to him for their banishment.

Such is the exact truth; what I have to add will come in support of my assertion. When I presented my report to the Emperor, I had some conversation with him on the subject, and laid the blame upon M. Fouché, from my knowledge of his sources of information, which had already supplied me with a multitude of such revolting details, with respect to highly respectable members of society, that I should have been ashamed to avail myself of them. To cite a case in

point: the minister had persuaded the banished individuals that he had not told the Emperor any thing to their prejudice. Now for the proof that he sacrificed the Emperor's interest to what was personal to himself. Madame d'Aveaux, one of the persons condemned to banishment, was a lady as distinguished for her amiable character as for the constancy of her friendly attachment to an individual who, rather unreservedly, professed certain opinions which it came within the province of the minister of police to notice. When the minister denounced to the Emperor the Fauxbourg St. Germain as guilty of distorting the reports coming from the army, he found no difficulty in attaching the blame to that individual, whose means of subsisting were derived from Madame d'Aveaux's liberality. It would have been much more surprising had he been passed over, than if he had figured at the head of the list of proscription. With respect to Madame d'Aveaux, it appeared, from the materials which I discovered, that the accusation directed against her was altogether founded upon an information lodged by a servant, who, if I recollect rightly, had some cause of complaint against his mistress; how then is it to be supposed that the Emperor would have attended to *similar details* conveying to him the information of a *mere* servant? It requires very little penetration to discover that, if he had given way to such weakness, he could have had no time left for attending to his other engagements. If, moreover, he had, without any previous report from the police, given a direct order for banishing those individuals, how could the document relating to Madame d'Aveaux have found its way to the police, where it was put into my hands? It is much more probable that it was obtained by the police itself, in order to ground upon it the measure of severity of which Madame d'Aveaux became the victim.

The Emperor ordered me to remove every obstacle which obstructed the return of those individuals to their respective homes, with the exception of Madame de Chevreuse, Madame

de Staël, M. de Duras, M. de La Salle, and Madame Récamier.

If I have omitted any name, it is because it has escaped my recollection. I shall have no difficulty in explaining how it happened that, after the recall of the exiled individuals, the Emperor found it necessary to issue orders for fresh banishments.

Previously to explaining the motives for the second measure, it is but justice to state, that when the Emperor revoked the first he used the following expressions:—"*I* really do not find in all this a motive for correcting even a child." He asked, on this occasion, what was intended by the observation so often used, "It is the Fauxbourg St. Germain," and who were the persons meant to be pointed out. It was in consequence of this question that I had a long list drawn up, consisting of persons of both sexes, to which I added a note of every particular I had ascertained respecting each; and handed it to him as an account of the flock from which those victims had been selected upon whom he was made to inflict a punishment, when no better proof could be given of zeal for his service.

The Emperor, on perusing this list, broke out into repeated exclamations of surprise at the existence of so many individuals of the ancient nobility, and expressed the desire that all those who were of age to appear in the world should be presented to him.

There was no occasion to repeat this wish a second time; and from that moment I began to consider of the means of prevailing upon all to appear at court. I took advantage of the circumstance of the marriage of the Empress to remove the scruples still entertained by a few; and succeeded so well, that, with the exception of grandmothers, I forced out into the world all those who were noted down in my catalogue as enemies of the government, and who were the subjects of a thousand other frivolous stories. These families thus got out

of the reach of their calumniators, who could no longer make them the subject of false reports, which would have again procured a renewal of their banishment.*

The old dowagers murmured a little; but, generally speaking, young people were delighted with the change, because they were thus invited to partake of amusements which their presence so much contributed to enliven.

I personally derived great advantage from this measure, as it secured me from having any altercation or misunderstanding with any one. My mind, however, retained the impression that there must have been some reason for representing the Fauxbourg St. Germain in so hideous a light, when its feelings could so easily be worked upon by the mere strains of music.

The fact is, the Fauxbourg had been used as an engine for courting popularity. It was made to believe that protection was extended to it against the severity of the Emperor, who, in his dislike, only sought an opportunity to strike a blow at it. Its inmates were thus worked upon by being made to dread the Emperor, who, on his part, was encouraged in the opinion that all those ancient families held him in aversion, because he was incessantly told that their whole time was employed in traducing him.

I succeeded in a great measure in removing that state of animosity which severed one portion of society from the other; and from that moment what was called the Fauxbourg St. Germain went much more along with the court than in an opposite direction, as it had hitherto done. I now took upon

* I deem it necessary to observe, that the greater part of those young people of both sexes had old relations, who brought them up in a state of total estrangement from the new order of things established in France, and thus propagated an opposition which their children had no interest in joining.

They no sooner escaped the cage in which they had been shut up, than they followed the example of those who had made up their minds for the last ten years.

myself the responsibility of releasing on their parole Messrs. de Polignac, whose period of detention seemed to have no defined limits. I did so upon the representations of persons who pledged themselves that they would never attempt to abuse the indulgence I might show to them.

I felt a pleasure in being of service to those two gentlemen, and found my reward in a return of the good opinion of society, which became less averse to me than at the beginning of my administration. The apprehension I had created was gradually diminishing. I had purposely shown an affected anxiety to take upon myself the responsibility of bettering the condition of Messrs. de Polignac, and I had sent orders to bring them away from Vincennes, and made them enter my hotel through the garden gate, on the very day when I was aware that Madame de Polignac, who, from what had been reported to her, took me for a monster, intended to call upon me in a state no doubt of the utmost terror, in order to obtain a continuation of the leave granted to her to visit them in the dungeon. I received her in my closet, which looked upon the garden, and greatly surprised her by giving up her husband and brother, both of whom she placed in a medical establishment near the quarter of the town where she resided, so as to have greater facilities for visiting them. The Emperor heard of my conduct on this occasion, and mentioned it to me in flattering terms; a further proof that he was not naturally disposed to be severe, and that if, owing to some deep laid scheme, his mind had not been purposely filled by others with evil reports, not one individual would ever have had to complain of any measure of severity emanating from him.

It has been industriously circulated that the Emperor had a leaning towards the old nobility, and that he would have fancied himself in a republic had he not brought them about his person.

This is an unfounded reproach. When the Emperor had arrested the disastrous career of the revolution, his intention

was to extend his powerful protection to all parties, and to remove the spirit of animosity existing between them. It never could have been expected of him that he should recall to France all those whom the calamities of the times had driven from its soil, with the view more effectually to destroy them; such a thought is repugnant to the common feelings of humanity. It behoved him therefore to screen them from the attacks of evil-designing men. What greater security could they expect from him than that he should bring them about his person? Had he reserved places for them in his administration, a loud clamour would have been raised, whatever talents they might have displayed in the discharge of their duties. What use could he find in courtiers far too advanced in years to shake off those habits they had contracted from their infancy? It does not appear that he could have acted more judiciously than by leaving them in their natural sphere of action, the precincts of his court, so as to save them from being immured in the castle of Vincennes, to which the exasperation of a party kept in check by the Emperor would have infallibly confined them.

In order to judge how untenable are the reproaches directed against the Emperor for preferring the ancient nobility to the nobles of recent creation, it is necessary to form a correct notion of the latter, as well as of the several classes into which they were subdivided.

The Emperor's conduct on the occasion was wholly political in its object and tendency. On his earliest accession to power, he had an opportunity of discovering that the landed property in France was still in the hands of certain ancient families, who, after bringing about the revolution of 1789, and giving their adhesion to it, had nevertheless continued to attend upon and court the various factions that had wrested the supreme authority out of each other's hands from the days of Robespierre himself down to the Directory, who delegated

them over to the First Consul with the furniture of the palace of the Luxembourg when they retired from it.

Those families could not fail to give in their adhesion to a government more powerful than the one they had just succeeded in overturning, and more disposed to govern in a spirit of moderation.

The First Consul was accordingly spared the trouble of calling any one of them about his person. They all hastened to join him; and the Dukes de Luynes, de Praslin, and others, soon took their seats in the senate, independently of the many candidates for admission.

Besides those families, there were others, no less illustrious in former times, who had adopted the course of emigrating without encountering the chance of battles. The Archambauds, the Noailles, and others, were of the number. They had found the means of returning to France even under the Directory, by producing certificates of every description, such as declarations that they had not borne arms against France.

It did not become the First Consul to be more severe than the government of the Directory. He therefore laid down a regular system in respect to the return of those families, by striking them off the list of emigrants, and restoring to them whatever part of their property remained unsold, the forests alone excepted.

The families that had taken a part in the civil war had returned to the common social compact ever since the treaty which restored peace to the western departments; their landed property was accordingly secured to them. Properly speaking, therefore, there only remained the poor provincial nobility who had emigrated through a sense of honour and of devotedness to the King's cause, had borne arms as common soldiers in the army of Condé, and when driven to the extremities of distress after the disbanding of that army, had adopted the magnanimous resolution of returning to France in spite of all

risks and dangers attendant upon such a course, without even taking the precaution of providing themselves with any other passports than such as the Prince of Condé had ordered to be delivered to them upon their discharge. They were not disappointed in their confidence: the First Consul not only forbade their being molested; but moreover privately directed that the fact of their having emigrated should not be deemed as a bar to granting the petitions of the greater part who had solicited some inferior places in the several branches of the public administration; and I must acknowledge it to the credit of all, not one of them ever failed in abiding by the dictates of honour, and the engagements they had contracted towards their benefactor.

This numerous and respectable class of men had been almost entirely deprived of their property, because the little they possessed previously to their emigration had been the more easily sold from the ready facilities afforded to the purchasers who were desirous of becoming possessed of it.

The greater number had therefore returned with perfect sincerity to the useful class of the community.

When the First Consul assumed the imperial crown, and perceived in consequence the necessity of making the landed proprietors of the country concur in shedding a lustre over it, he could not hesitate to surround himself with the families in possession of the property of the land. He had no doubt been the first to remark that none of those who had been raised to high distinction as partakers of his glory were possessed of a patrimonial landed property; and this circumstance induced him at a later period to create that institution of entail in which his munificence left his predecessors far behind, without even excepting Louis XIV.; and yet, in so doing, he did not draw the smallest sum from the public treasury.

By a strange abuse of authority, all persons who thus became possessed of property have been deprived, since the peace of 1814, of the property so assigned to them, which no one had

any right to seize upon, and which even in the case of imperative necessity could not be disposed of without indemnifying their rightful owners. The madness of party spirit can alone account for such an act of violence; and it may be permitted to hope, that those who have acquired such fortunes in defending their country, will sooner or later find an administration sufficiently alive to a sense of justice to make a compensation to them for an act of spoliation to which they had not given their consent; and I do not hesitate to appeal to the honour of those emigrants who, *having lost their property for* taking up arms against France, have obtained a pecuniary equivalent for it by a decision of the chambers.

The Emperor had not therefore shown any preference for ancient families; he acted with justice towards them; and, with the exception of a few men of extravagant ideas, to whom he declined paying any attention, and who were generally considered as madmen, he never had occasion to complain of them. He was partial to them, because he relied upon their honourable character; he felt a pleasure in having them about him, because they never appeared in his presence without showing the most respectful deference. Those families had attached themselves to him as to their sheet-anchor after a storm, which had well-nigh overwhelmed them in its fury.

They had all shown themselves alive to the national glory, and to the lustre which he shed over every description of service; and I defy the bitterest enemies of those families to point out an individual amongst them who, having been attached to the service or the person of the Emperor, has been known to make a traffic of his duty and his honour, with the view of raising himself into fresh distinction in the midst of the disasters of 1814.

CHAPTER XXXI.

State-prisoners—Their number—Their crimes—Immoral priests—Yearly visits to the state-prisons by two counsellors of state—Their report to the privy-council — Anecdote respecting two counsellors.

IN *the first weeks of my administration* the Emperor was desirous of reconsidering the grounds on which state-prisoners were detained, a circumstance that placed me under the necessity of examining them in person; and I acknowledge I could not resist a feeling of apprehension on approaching the register of the persons detained, because, from the reports that had reached my ears, I expected to find an abyss in which innocent victims were buried alive. How erroneous was such an impression, and how basely calumny has been employed upon this topic! I shall explain with the utmost frankness the condition in which I found this branch of my administration.

The name of state-prisoner was given to a person who, although detained, could not be judged by the tribunals, because his family had been unanimous in urging his confinement, to avoid the disgrace resulting from any judgment given against him. In such a case, the family made a formal demand to the local administration, which inquired into the correctness of the motives alleged by the relatives for the detention of a member of their family who had incurred an ignominious punishment; after thus recognising and certifying the validity of those motives, the local administration reported the case to the minister of police, who asked the Emperor's consent for confining the prisoner; and in order to spare the family from any humiliation, he was transferred to a house of detention at a considerable distance from them. This system had in some respects replaced the *lettres de cachet* of the old

regime; and as we had no longer any colonies to which all worthless subjects might be removed, as was the case in former times, it was necessary to adopt some means for relieving society from their presence, upon the special demand and for the interest of private families.

Besides this class of prisoners there was another, consisting of men, who, having been brought before the tribunal for serious charges in which they had been implicated, had escaped by some incidental circumstance, which placed them beyond the reach of the law, though they still bore the stigma of being accomplices of certain bands *chauffeurs*, of plunderers of the public chests and public conveyances; and who, in the hope of concealing their disorderly conduct by throwing the colour of party over it, assumed the names of royalists, or were the acknowledged ringleaders of all the bad characters of a district. These men were generally detained after judgment, either at the suit of the solicitor-general to the tribunal, or on the application of the local administrations, grounded upon the necessity of maintaining order and public tranquillity; but those detentions were never made upon arbitrary grounds.

A third class consisted of persons detained for political crimes. It was supposed by every one to be a very numerous class; whereas the reverse was the case: it did not exceed forty persons upon the whole population of France, Belgium, Piedmont, Tuscany, and the Roman states; a proportion short of one in every million.

This number, it must be observed, includes individuals arrested in consequence of the civil war, and who had again become the ringleaders of such perilous enterprises: the greater number were liable to be sent before special tribunals, where assuredly not one could have escaped condemnation. The Emperor himself opposed this course; because, said he, time allayed all ferment, and would bring those persons back to their senses, as it had done so many others in France.

It also included those who had been condemned to death, but whose sentence had been commuted to imprisonment for an indefinite period. Lastly, it included certain priests, who had been arrested for attempting, under the cloak of their ministry, to sow disunion in families. I have known some of those wretches, for example, who had availed themselves of the confessional to acquire an ascendancy over the minds of weak young women, and prevail upon them to break the conjugal bond which united them to their husbands, because the latter had served the state or had purchased national domains. Others had refused to christen children born of marriages contracted during the revolution; others, again, were detained for using the pretext of pious exercises to draw to their houses young girls, whom they had subjected to the most shameful state of degradation. It was not a feeling of consideration for those hypocrites which had prevented their being sent before the tribunals, but a sense of the shame that would have been reflected back upon the family of the children whose innocence they had despoiled, a regard for the clergy at large, and a respect for public decency.

Those different classes of prisoners composed a total of six hundred persons and upwards, including foreigners, by whom I mean those who were such at the time when a country was annexed to France, as well as certain Spaniards, who, after swearing fidelity to King Joseph, had betrayed him, to go over to the insurgents, amongst whom they had afterwards been found.*

* There was published in the early part of 1814, with the worst of motives, a statement of the prisoners existing in the houses of detention in Paris, which has been represented as a list of state-prisoners. Party spirit alone could have attempted to confound all kinds of prisoners in one mass in order to favour its ends. The houses of correction, the prisons for debtors, and for abandoned women, the mad-houses, all have been thrown into the list. Every thing answered the purpose, so long as it was calculated to create a feeling of resentment against the imperial government.

The Emperor had not been a twelvemonth on the throne when he wrote to acquaint the minister of police that he had issued a decree appointing two counsellors of state to visit all the state-prisoners, and to desire he would communicate to them every document in virtue of which each person had been arrested and put into confinement. It thus became the minister's duty to hand over to these two counsellors the bundle of documents relating to each prisoner; and when they had been provided with these papers, they made the round of all the prisons in France where such prisoners were kept in confinement.

They carried with them an order from the minister of police for the throwing open the prison gates as often as they thought proper to visit the prisons. Their instructions directed that they should see each individual prisoner; and in order to avoid the possibility of any one being kept concealed from their view, they began by satisfying themselves that the statement handed to them by the minister of police, on their departure from Paris, was conformable to the register of the records of the prison, in which are entered the expenses of the prisoners; so that if it had been attempted to immure a single person over and above the number, without registering his name in the record book, the consequence would be that the charge of supporting such prisoner would have fallen upon the keeper of the prison or castle; a supposition altogether improbable. There was therefore the most positive check upon the introduction of a greater number of prisoners than those submitted to inspection. They were afterwards successively questioned by the counsellors of state, who had to pronounce upon the validity of the grounds of their detention; their families were written to, the authorities of the place examined, and they thus exercised a rigorous scrutiny over the acts of the minister of police.

This visit lasted several months; and the Emperor generally selected the month of November for hearing the reports

of the counsellors of state, who mostly returned towards the end of the preceding month. This report was made at a privy-council, consisting of the arch-chancellor, the arch-treasurer, the Prince of Benevento, the grand-judge, the ministers of war, of the interior, and of the police, the president of the tribunal of cassation, those of the sections of the interior and of the legislation of the council of state, several senators, the four state-counsellors attached to the ministry of police, and lastly, the secretary of state.

The two *counsellors of state* read their report in the presence of this council, and gave their opinion on the case of each of the prisoners they had visited. When they had spoken on the case of one individual, the minister of police was required to state the grounds of his detention; the Emperor then took the opinion of every member of the council in regard to each prisoner, whether he should continue under confinement or be set at liberty.

The whole business could not be gone through in one sitting; but they were continued until the case of every prisoner had been disposed of.

The minister secretary of state then drew up a statement of the prisoners set at liberty, and of those retained in confinement; he addressed to the minister of police a minute of the proceedings of the several sittings, with the result of what had been decided; whereupon the minister of police delivered to the keepers of the different dungeons where the prisoners were confined, an order for setting them at liberty.

If any attempt had been made to avoid the giving effect to such orders, it would necessarily have been defeated, because the minister secretary of state transmitted to the grand-judge a duplicate of the minute sent by him to the minister of police; and the grand-judge directed the crown solicitors to see to the execution of the clauses contained in the Emperor's decree, and to report their having done so.

Such was the spirit of equity which presided over the de-

cisions affecting the freedom of citizens. I have never had a knowledge of any *secret detentions*,* nor of any kind of ill-treatment sanctioned by the Emperor's order; and I have received a score of instructions from him, in which he enjoined me to be particularly on my guard never to transgress the limits of the constitution, without first submitting the grounds which might require my departure from them. I even received a letter from the Emperor, on one occasion, wherein he told me that there were two arbitrary powers in France over and above what *there ought to be, his own power and* mine.

I recollect that at one of those privy-councils the Emperor perceived that in the report of a visit to the prisons, which had been presented to him by two counsellors of state, Messrs. Dubois and Corvetto, whom he frequently entrusted with those commissions, they pronounced no opinion on the notes I had delivered to them before their departure respecting a prison situated amongst the Alps. The Emperor guessed they had not examined it. He put the question to them; when, fearing to disguise the truth, they merely stated in their own justification their having learned his return to Paris sooner than they expected, and their unwillingness to protract or extend their visits, *that he might not* have to wait for their reports. The Emperor expressed himself in terms of strong displeasure at their neglect, and directed them to take their departure the next morning, and proceed on a visit to the prison in question.

* There were only two cases of persons detained under feigned names, in order to defeat any attempt on their part to communicate with foreign countries. They were two Spanish insurgent chiefs, who had fictitious names given to them in the registers of the record office; but they were not excepted from the yearly visits of the counsellors of state.

Fictitious names had been given to them, in order to defeat any attempt at rescuing them by means of bribery.

END OF VOL. II.

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